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THE

Virginia Historical Reporter:

CONDUCTED BY THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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VOL. II—PART I.  
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RICHMOND:

CHAS. H. WYNNE, PRINTER, 94 MAIN STREET.

1860.



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## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY---1860.

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Hon. WM. C. RIVES, *President.*

Hon. JAMES M. MASON,  
WM. H. MACFARLAND, } *Vice Presidents.*  
Hon. JOHN ROBERTSON,

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Recording Secretary.*

CHARLES GORHAM BARNEY, *Treasurer.*

Dr. GEORGE W. BAGBY, *Cor. Sec. and Librarian.*

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman;*

GUSTAVUS A. MYERS,

THOMAS H. ELLIS,

GEORGE W. RANDOLPH,

THOMAS T. GILES,

H. COALTER CABELL,

ARTHUR A. MORSON.



# PROCEEDINGS.

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## TENTH ANNUAL MEETING—1857.

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The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society was held in the Hall of the Athenæum, on the evening of Thursday, 5th of February, 1857.

In the absence of the President and the first Vice President, WM. H. MACFARLAND, Esq., the second Vice President, took the Chair, and presided on the occasion.

The report of the Executive Committee was read to the Society by CONWAY ROBINSON, Esq., Chairman of the Committee:

### REPORT.

During the past year, we have had manifested a sense of the value of our paintings, and a laudable desire to add to the collection. Of the former, an evidence, forming in itself matter of history, was furnished in a letter written at Chicago, on the 15th of August, 1856, by George P. A. Healy, stating that he was to sail from New York, early in October, for Paris, where he is to paint for Congress a large picture of Franklin and the other American Commissioners treating with Louis XVI., and asking to have a good photograph



taken from the portrait of Arthur Lee—that portrait having been deposited in our Library Room by Mr. Charles Carter Lee. It was, in compliance with this request, allowed to be temporarily withdrawn, to have the photograph taken, which Mr. Healy desired. From the portraits of George Washington and James Madison, taken by Charles Gilbert Stuart, and now in possession of Edward Coles, Esq., of Philadelphia, fine copies have, with his permission, been made by Mr. Thomas Sully of that city, and been presented to the Society by two citizens of Richmond—Mr. William Barrett is the donor of one, and Mr. Jaqueline P. Taylor of the other.

Of John Marshall we have two portraits, one of which was presented by Thomas H. Ellis, Esq., in the name of the family of his father-in-law, the late Mr. Thomas Taylor, and is said to have been taken for Mr. Taylor by Thompson. The other is copied from a portrait in possession of Mr. Marshall's descendants, which was taken by Inman, and gives an excellent likeness of the Chief Justice in his latter days. Our copy is so well made, that, even with the two side by side, some of the Committee had difficulty in telling which was the original, and which the copy. The Society will be pleased to know that this copy is a contribution from the artist who made it; that he is a citizen of Richmond, and that it was completed by him when he had just attained the seventeenth year of his age. Our satisfaction at the admirable manner in which the youthful artist (Mr. William B. Myers) has done his work, and our thankfulness to him and the other donors whom we have named, will, we are sure, be shared by you, when you look upon the portraits which to-night adorn the walls of the room in which you meet.

When you meet again, we expect to show you fine copies of the portraits of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason. The gentlemen who are to present them have arranged to have them made by distinguished artists.



We indulge the hope, also, that at the next Annual Meeting, you will have the pleasure of hearing the discourse which Mr. Grigsby is preparing upon the Convention of 1788—a discourse which, treating of the individuals who composed the Convention, as well as of the body itself and its proceedings, may be expected to restore its history with something of the freshness of life. Done, as Mr. Grigsby does his work, it will doubtless be arduous; but he will have the satisfaction of accomplishing what we are sure will prove useful, as well as interesting, not only to Virginians, but to others.

The members of the Society cannot fail to notice the absence of one, who has been present at each meeting of the Society since its organization in 1847. On the 6th instant, Mr. MAXWELL wrote from Lombardy, in James City county, saying that his health had not improved as he hoped it would have done, and expressing his apprehension that he would not recover soon, if ever, and his opinion that he ought to retire immediately from the service of the Society, and not hinder the progress which he could no longer aid. Thereupon, his letter proceeded to state that he declined the contracts and engagements which he had heretofore had with the Committee; but in thus retiring from employments which he mentioned he had heretofore found so agreeable, he expressed the hope that the Society would continue to flourish with increasing prosperity, and to satisfy the reasonable expectations of all its friends. This letter, it is believed, was the last signed by Mr. Maxwell. When, on the evening of the 15th January, the Chairman laid it before the Committee, he, at the same time, informed the Committee that he had that day seen a letter from Mr. Littleton T. Waller, stating that Mr. Maxwell died at Lombardy, the residence of Mr. Waller, on the night of Friday, the 9th inst., about twelve o'clock, in the seventy-third year of his age, and that his remains would, according



to his wish, be interred in Hollywood Cemetery: Thereupon, the Committee unanimously adopted these resolutions—

1. That the members of this Committee sincerely deplore the continued illness which caused Mr. Maxwell to contemplate retiring, and which has terminated in withdrawing him forever from a position which he has held with so much advantage to the Society and to the cause of our historical literature, and will ever cherish the liveliest sense of the services which he has rendered to this institution.

2. That as a mark of respect for his memory, the members of the Committee would in a body attend the funeral of the deceased; and,

3. That to make known to the widow of the deceased our sentiments in regard to her respected husband, and our sympathy with her in her bereavement, the Recording Secretary should transmit to her a copy of these resolutions.

In addition, it may not be inappropriate to record the fact that the body was brought to Richmond on the 17th; but, owing to the unexampled snow storm of the 18th, and the depth of the snow for several days after, the funeral and interment did not take place until the afternoon of the 21st. Then all of the Committee, who could, attended the funeral obsequies. They listened with interest to what was said of the deceased by his pastor, and joined in the procession through the streets and fields of snow. It was a striking scene—a solemn spectacle—and must make upon all who were present a lasting impression.

The Rev. MOSES D. HOGG delivered the Annual Discourse, which treated of the history, legislation and policy of the Colony of Virginia, during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.



On motion of THOMAS H. ELLIS, Esq., the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the Society hereby thank the Rev. Dr. HOGE for his able and interesting discourse, and request a copy of it for preservation in their Archives, and for publication along with the proceedings of the meeting by the Executive Committee.

On motion of ROBERT R. HOWISON, Esq., the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the Society have listened with interest and sorrow to the narrative, given in the Report of the Executive Committee, of the last days, the death and burial of our late esteemed Secretary and Librarian, WILLIAM MAXWELL, Esq., and that we adopt the sentiments of the report, and warmly approve the action of the Committee, in expressing their regard for the memory of one whose zeal and labor for the Society will never be forgotten.

On motion of JOHN R. THOMPSON, Esq., it was unanimously

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the respective donors of the Portraits of Washington, Madison and Marshall, for those valuable additions to the Gallery of the Society.

Messrs. Thomas Samson, Robert J. Morrison and Archibald Bolling, being recommended by the Executive Committee, were unanimously elected, by the Society, Resident Members.



The following persons were unanimously elected Officers of the Society:

Hon. WM. C. RIVES, *President*.

Hon. JAMES M. MASON,  
WM. H. MACFARLAND, } *Vice Presidents*.  
Hon. JOHN Y. MASON, }

HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, *Cor. Sec'ry and Librarian*.

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Recording Secretary*.

JAQUELINE P. TAYLOR, *Treasurer*.

And then the Society adjourned.

After the adjournment of the Society, the Officers elect held a meeting, and appointed the Executive Committee, as follows:

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman*;

Gustavus A. Myers,	Thomas H. Ellis,
Thomas T. Giles,	Geo. W. Randolph,
Arthur A. Morson,	H. Coalter Cabell.



## ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING—1858.

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society was held on the evening of Tuesday, the 23d day of February, 1858, in the Hall of the House of Delegates—the Lecture Room of the Athenæum being otherwise occupied.

At this meeting, there was a suitable Address by the President, and a Discourse by HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, Esq., upon the Convention of 1778.

Mr. Grigsby, in the name and on the behalf of John Henry, Esq., of Red Hill, the youngest son of Patrick Henry, presented to the Society a fair copy of all the letters and manuscripts in Mr. Henry's possession belonging to his father.

The Society then adjourned—to meet the next morning, at ten o'clock, in its Room at the Athenæum.

At which time, to wit, on Wednesday, the 24th day of February, 1858, at ten o'clock, A. M., the Society met accordingly; and, the President and Vice Presidents being absent, CARLES CARTER LEE, Esq., was appointed Chairman, *pro tempore*.

The report of the Executive Committee was read to the Society by CONWAY ROBINSON, Esq., its Chairman:

## REPORT.

During the past year, valuable additions have been made to our Gallery of Portraits. Thomas T. Giles, Esq., has presented to the Society a portrait of George Mason, the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights. This portrait was copied, at



his request, by Mr. S. M. D. Guillaume, from one in the possession of James M. Mason, Esq., a grandson of George Mason; and that was copied by ——— Boudet, a French artist, from an original, painted in 1780, by J. Hessiluis, when George Mason was at the age of twenty-five. Our copy is faithfully and accurately taken from that in Mr. Mason's possession, which has been regarded by his family as an accurate likeness of their great ancestor.

Col. Thomas Jefferson Randolph and his brother, George W. Randolph, Esq., have presented a copy by Mr. Guillaume, of an original portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Gilbert Stuart. The original, now in the possession of Mr. Jefferson's family, is considered by them as the best likeness of him extant, and the painting presented to the Society is an admirable copy.

Many other donations and deposits are enumerated in the Secretary's list. Conspicuous among the temporary deposits is a full length portrait of Washington, taken by Mr. W. J. Hubbard from Houdon's statue. This has contributed with other works of Art to increase the attractiveness of the Library Room. The Library itself has been materially increased by additions from several sources.

According to the desire of our late Secretary, as expressed in a written memorandum, his widow has presented to the Society a considerable number of volumes.

Immediately after the last Annual Meeting, Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq., was informed of his unanimous appointment to the office of Corresponding Secretary and Librarian. This appointment being declined, the Committee, on the 2d of March, 1857, filled the vacancy, by appointing Dr. Wm. P. Palmer to the office. Certain hours have been fixed during which the new Secretary is to be found in the Library Room, and he has been arranging its contents so as to facilitate the examination of them and make them more attractive.



The Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Dr. WILLIAM P. PALMER, read the list of donations to the Society during the past year.

On motion of CONWAY ROBINSON, Esq.,

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq., for his compliance with the resolution of the Executive Committee, in regard to the history of the Convention of 1788, and for the gratification derived from such portions of the work as he read to the Society last evening.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That it is the earnest desire of the Society that the history of *that* Convention be committed to the press immediately, under the auspices of its author.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That in the discourses of Mr. Grigsby on the three great Conventions of Virginia, undertaken at the suggestion of the Officers of the Society, and for the Society's benefit, he has performed an office of usefulness, not only to the present generation, but to succeeding times, and made a valuable addition to our historical literature.

On motion of Mr. GILES,

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the cordial thanks of the Society be presented to John Henry, Esq., the youngest son of Patrick Henry, for his valuable present of a fair copy of all the letters and manuscripts in his possession belonging to his illustrious father, and for the honorable example which he has set, by conferring a great benefit upon the Society and the public, while he places the ultimate preservation of the papers beyond any future hazard.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the Librarian be directed to cause the papers to be bound in book form, and the name of the donor to be written therein.



*Resolved, unanimously,* That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to John Henry, Esq.

The Hon. WM. C. RIVES, President of the Society, appeared, and the Chair, being vacated by the President *pro tempore*, was taken by the President.

On motion of Mr. Myers,

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Col. Thomas Jefferson Randolph and George W. Randolph, and Thomas T. Giles, Esqs., for the very valuable portraits presented by them respectively to the Society.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the Society gratefully appreciates the donation of its late estimable Secretary, William Maxwell, deceased, and presents its thanks to his Widow and Executrix for the very valuable acquisition thereby made to the Library of the Society.

Mr. Wm. B. Harrison, of Brandon; Col. Robert W. Carter, of Sabine Hall, Richmond county; Col. John H. Lee, of Orange county; Mr. Alex'r F. Taylor, of Richmond, and Mr. Thos. L. Preston, of Smythe county, being recommended by the Executive Committee, were unanimously elected by the Society. Resident Members.

The following persons were unanimously elected Officers of the Society:

Hon. WM. C. RIVES, *President.*

Hon. JAMES M. MASON,

WM. H. MACFARLAND,

Hon. JOHN Y. MASON,

Dr. WM. P. PALMER, *Cor. Sec'y and Librarian.*

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Recording Secretary.*

JAQUELINE P. TAYLOR, *Treasurer.*

And then the Society adjourned.



After the adjournment of the Society, the Officers elect held a meeting, and appointed the Executive Committee, as follows:

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman*;

Gustavus A. Myers,

Thomas H. Ellis,

Thomas T. Giles,

Geo. W. Randolph,

Arthur A. Morson,

H. Coalter Cabell.



TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING—1859.

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At the Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, held on Thursday, the 15th day of December, 1859, in the building of the Virginia Mechanics' Institute:

WM. C. RIVES, Esq., President of the Society, on taking the Chair, made an appropriate address.

The report of the Executive Committee was read to the Society by CONWAY ROBINSON, Esq., its Chairman:

## REPORT.

In May, 1858, the attention of the Committee was called to the probability that a sale might soon be made of the Athæneum building by the authorities of the City of Richmond, to whom it belonged, and to the necessity of providing in that event for the removal of the Library, pictures, manuscripts and other property of the Society. After conference by a sub-committee appointed for the purpose, a contract was entered into, under which this Society\* and the Richmond Library Company have jointly the use of the large room in the third story of this building, and each of them one of the smaller rooms opening into that large room, and under which also this Society has the use of the Hall on the occasion of its Annual Meetings. Until the Library Room could be fitted up, the pictures were, by permission of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, deposited in a room in the Capitol, and the books removed to this building remained in boxes.



Dr. Wm. P. Palmer having declined to hold the office of Corresponding Secretary and Librarian under the regulations which became necessary in consequence of the new arrangement, the Committee, on the 27th of October last, elected Dr. George W. Bagby to that office. This officer has been and is employed in arranging the books and manuscripts, and putting them and the pictures in their appropriate places.

That valuable member of the Society, Hugh B. Grigsby, Esq., is still engaged in his great work—The Virginia Convention of 1788. This work is expected to fill up a great chasm in biography and history. The author thinks that it will present a more accurate portraiture of the members of the Convention than could have been known to the generation in which they lived.

Members of the Society may, perhaps, have noticed Lafayette's prescription of exercise to Washington, and Washington's reply, on the 19th March, 1791, that he should, on the next Monday, enter on the practice of that friendly prescription, intending then to begin a journey to the southward. They may have also seen his letter written from Mount Vernon, on the 4th of April, 1791, to the Secretaries of the Departments, informing them at what time he should be found in any particular place: for example, stating that he should be, on the 8th of April, at Fredericksburg; on the 11th, at Richmond; the 14th, at Petersburg, and so on. We are pleased to inform you that Mr. James K. Marshall has placed under the control of the Society the Diary of this tour of Washington through the Southern States. It being, at the time of Mr. Marshall's last communication on the subject, in possession of Mr. C. B. Richardson, of New York, the publisher of a periodical, known as the Historical Magazine, the Committee authorized Mr. Richardson to print a limited edition of this Diary, in conjunction with a diary which he had to print of Washington's tour through New England. Of



the volume containing the two diaries, copies are to be delivered to our Librarian, and it is contemplated that one of these diaries will be delivered to each member of the Society.

The Librarian stated that, owing to his recent connection with the Society, materials had not accumulated out of which a report proper could be made. He would mention, however, that during the past year, his predecessor, Dr. Wm. P. Palmer, had received a number of books, manuscripts and other donations, and among them the first volume of the Life of Madison, by Wm. C. Rives, Esq., President of the Society. He alluded also to the portrait of Essex, presented by Mr. Hughes.

Professor GEORGE FREDERICK HOLMES, of the University of Virginia, delivered the Annual Discourse, containing views as to the Causes and Effects of American Colonization.

WM. H. MACFARLAND, Esq., introduced the following tribute to the memory of the lamented Hon. JOHN Y. MASON, by alluding to the esteem and respect in which he was universally held, and to the wide-spread sympathy excited by his decease:

*Resolved*, That entertaining for the late Hon. John Y. Mason the highest admiration and esteem for his varied public services and personal worth—cherishing for him, as one of their Vice Presidents, the most fraternal attachment, and profoundly lamenting his death, whilst engaged in representing his country at the Court of France with signal success—this Society finds a mournful satisfaction in recording this united expression of grief for his decease and appreciation of his public and private character.



The resolution was unanimously adopted.

On motion of GUSTAVUS A. MYERS, Esq., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be, and they are hereby, presented to George Frederick Holmes, Esq., for his able and interesting discourse delivered this evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of it to the Executive Committee for preservation in the Archives, and for publication in such manner as they may direct.

The following persons were unanimously elected Officers of the Society:

Hon. WM. C. RIVES, *President*.

Hon. JAMES M. MASON,	} <i>Vice Presidents.</i>
WM. H. MACFARLAND,	
JOHN ROBERTSON,	

Dr. GEORGE W. BAGBY, *Cor. Sec'ry and Librarian*.

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Recording Secretary*.

JAQUELINE P. TAYLOR, *Treasurer*.

And then the Society adjourned.

After the adjournment of the Society, the Officers held a meeting, and appointed the following persons as members of the Executive Committee, to wit:

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman*;

Gustavus A. Myers,

Thomas H. Ellis,

Thomas T. Giles,

Geo. W. Randolph,

Arthur A. Morson,

H. Calter Cabell.



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The Virginia Colony;

OR THE RELATION OF THE ENGLISH COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS  
IN AMERICA TO THE GENERAL HISTORY OF  
THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

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AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT RICHMOND, DECEMBER 15, 1859.

BY GEORGE F. HOLMES,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

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## ADDRESS.

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MR. PRESIDENT,

AND GENTLEMEN OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

WITHOUT impropriety I may congratulate you on the re-union of this evening. It must be gratifying to every liberal mind to witness and assist in each successive repetition of these annual celebrations, in which so much of the aspiring talent, of the matured intelligence, of the active energy, and of the acknowledged culture of the Ancient Dominion of Virginia, is brought together by the attraction derived from the common memories of the past, and is melted into harmony by the animation springing from the common hopes of the future. You meet for the purpose of retrieving or reviving the dim and obliterated traditions of the earlier day; of commemorating the achievements in Council and in battle-field,—in public service and in private enterprise, by which, in the short space of two centuries and a half, the little company, which attended Newport, and Gosnold, and Smith to the shores of the Chesapeake, has expanded into the great, the intelligent, the wealthy, and the well-peopled State of Virginia; and has been multiplied by continual accretions from without, and by vigorous internal development, into a vast and powerful confederation of free, sovereign and independent States, spreading across the wide continent from ocean to ocean, and from the reign of Northern frost to the realm of tropical heat and luxuriance.

Of this great arch, Virginia is the key-stone: and your



Historical Society, in its annual assemblages, resuscitates all the ideas, and sentiments, and reminiscences, which are implicated and embodied in the life and destiny of the United States.

Thus, the design of your meeting--the objects of your Society--the constituents of your eminent body--the feelings and the reflections which accompany you here--the diversity of the regions from which so many representatives of the widely diffused Virginian name have converged to this point, and for this occasion ;--the remembrance of the distinguished gentlemen, who have illustrated previous celebrations by their instructive or brilliant addresses ; and, in an especial manner, the recollection that, in addressing myself to you, Mr. President, I necessarily recall to the minds of all who hear me the eminent and successful labors by which you have adorned your retirement, and have added the graces of literature, and the prizes of history and biography, to the eminent renown previously won, by services rendered to your State and to your whole country, at home and abroad ;--all these various influences operate in concert to add interest to these recurring assemblages, and to provoke a spontaneous expression of reverential admiration for the lofty and generous aims implied in these honorable anniversaries.

But, gentlemen, if I may appropriately felicitate you on these auspicious and suggestive associations, I must the more particularly, on this account, return my cordial thanks to you, and especially to the Members of your Executive Committee, for the honor of my appointment to deliver the customary address this evening.

Your liberality and confidence are exemplified, but my embarrassment is augmented, by the consideration that I have been invited, notwithstanding my English origin, to address a Virginia audience, and the Virginia Historical Society, on topics necessarily connected with the History of Virginia. You will



pardon the affection which I still entertain for the home of my childhood, remembering that, in many instances, your own lineage is drawn from the same abundant fountain of modern freedom;—and recollecting that the Old Dominion of Virginia was the first scion transferred from that venerable stock to the rich, prolific and virgin soil of the New World. The tenacity of our adherence to early loves, and friendships, and obligations, and to the friends of our fathers before us, is the surest pledge of the stability and sincerity of our maturer attachments.

You would not ask me, then, to dwell upon the praises even of Virginia, when her splendor shines by the eclipse of the more ancient glories of the Mother-land. There are passages in English History, and in the narrative of England's connection with her Colonies, which her patriotic children, at home and abroad, and the descendants of her children to the latest generation, can regard only with fruitless regret, and mortifying condemnation. These faults demand consideration, but they may be more fitly exposed by others. Rather permit me to select, from the copious array of topics before me, one which may do honor to Virginia, as the eldest born of the American sisterhood, without diminishing the fair fame of England, or obscuring the services which, intentionally or instructively, by deliberate policy, or by inevitable development of inherent tendencies in herself, and in her offspring, she has rendered to human liberty and progress. With this aim, I shall attempt to combine the glories of England and of Virginia in one view, and I may succeed in enlarging the appreciation of both by the union.

It is a prevalent habit with the American people to contemplate American History—American Society—American Institutions—the past career, the present condition, and the future destinies of the separate and of the aggregate States—in 'too insular' a manner, as if they were entirely estranged



from the general order of human affairs. The Roman Poet of the Augustan Age spoke of the contemporaneous inhabitants of the British Isles as a race dis severed from the whole world—*toio divisos orbe Bri tannos*. We, on this side of the Atlantic, have appropriated to ourselves in our habitual speech, the sneer at our barbarous ancestors, uttered by their conquerors nearly twenty centuries ago. It is a narrow and mistaken policy, though explained and excused by the hostile or jealous relations in which this country has been placed during critical times with regard to Great Britain and the political systems of Continental Europe. But, by thus contracting the field of view, we deliberately exclude the abundant illumination which would otherwise stream in from antecedent times, and from the surrounding world. Moreover, we are thus constrained to disregard the innumerable cords which unite into one grand harmony 'the Federation of the Nations;' and to ignore the continual play of those currents of action and re-action which bind together the complicated phenomena of social change, producing that august but unstable equilibrium in the life of the world, which, like the great Ocean, exhibits incessant movement and alternation, without ever transcending the bounds that maintain its essential unity and identity. By contemplating the phases of American existence, as if it were sustained and animated by forces distinct from the general impulses of humanity, we are precluded from the full comprehension even of those events which seem to appertain peculiarly and exclusively to this side of the Atlantic. The mission of the United States will be better understood, and more worthily appreciated, if regarded as constituting a main link in the chain of human evolution—as presenting one of the latest and grandest acts of the portentous tragedy of man's action in the world—than if it be treated as an anomaly—as an episode—or as a brilliant and



meteoric digression from the regular destinies of the human race.

The time, too, seems to urge upon us a recourse to these broader views. The bright morning of American greatness is shrouded with ominous gloom. The extended Union, which has been the pride, the glory, the security and the power of the American people is threatened with violent disruption. A world-wide fanaticism, of no limited or transient origin—the creature of political ignorance, of religious bigotry, of sectional jealousy and of the frenzy of innovation—has at length broken out into acts of treasonable discord and fraternal bloodshed, after having long fostered local and party animosities. The air is darkened around us with spectral shapes of terror. Before the storm bursts in its full fury, if burst it must—before the ruin is achieved, if the mighty fabric must be shattered;—it is wise to inquire by what visible and invisible agencies the vast structure had been reared and cemented, and to learn what were its relations to the general economy of the nations in its origin, its growth, and its maturity;—what were the harmonies prevailing between its vibrations and the movements of the rest of mankind. It would be well to recognize that secret of fate—that *arcanum imperii*—which has impelled and cherished the progress of our country, but which, like the water of crystallization, may be beyond the reach of scientific analysis, until the brilliant gem which enclosed it has been crushed into fragments. It is also incumbent upon us at this time to ascertain the extent to which the liberties, the prosperity, and the independence of the separate States are implicated with their combination;—and how far in their prosperity and persistent connection are involved the maintenance of freedom in the world, the expansion of civilization, and the diffusion of morals, intelligence and religion. Thus may be discovered the immense and increasing services which the American polity was calculated to render, and the ultimate



tendencies of that brightening and broadening career which lay invitingly before its path.

To minister to the formation of such ampler views, and, as far as may be, to mingle instruction and gratification with the occupations of the hour, I have ventured to approach a subject too vast for my information, my abilities, my opportunities, and my time. I invite you, then, to accompany me with your indulgent favor while I discuss rapidly, and therefore, if on no other account, imperfectly, the Virginia Colony, or the relations of English Colonization in America to the contemporaneous and antecedent History of the Civilized World.

It would scarcely have happened by the mere caprice of fortune that most of the eminent names of the Elizabethan era, still surviving during the first years of the reign of James, should have been united in the Patents by which the germ of the English Colonies in America was planted and preserved at Jamestown. Still less could it have been an accident that Lord Bacon, besides being a member of the Corporation and of the Council of the London Company, should have impressed his views and policy upon the organization of the infant settlement; and should have written his *Essay on Plantations* almost as a commentary upon the early fortunes of Virginia. Nor will it satisfy an intelligent curiosity to ascribe to chance the remarkable convergence to the shores of North America, about that time, of the brilliant hopes and adventurous emprise of the brightest and most chivalrous spirits of the chivalric court of Elizabeth. There must have been some potent and pervasive enchantment springing from the united, though impalpable, agencies of the miraculous past, and of the teeming present, to concentrate, coincidently or successively, in one common purpose of hazard, difficulty and expense, so many shining spirits and martial heroes, and sagacious or astute statesmen, as Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh,



Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Francis Bacon, and his intriguing cousin, the Earl of Salisbury, Capt. John Smith, Sir Thomas Smith, Percy, and Lord Delaware. An explanation is required for this sudden convocation of gallant soldiers, and grave councillors, and learned lawyers, and profound sages, and prudent financiers, and calculating merchants, and cautious capitalists, by the cradle of the nascent and infant Virginia. No other community has ever been illustrated at its birth by such a galaxy of resplendent names. Never did dreaming astrologer venture to cast such a horoscope of conjunctive and auspicious stars for the nativity of potentate or empire. Never did Royal Highness or Imperial Prince receive the honor of such an array of noble and distinguished sponsors. Not only did civil prudence, and military renown, and reviving philosophy, and commercial adventure, send notable representatives, but Literature, with all the returning Arts and Sciences, participated in the ceremonial of the earliest English colonization; and the Maiden Queen herself hailed its budding promise by imposing upon it the name which her fancy had chosen to be her own. The Poet, Sandys, whose brother had been the pupil of the venerable and judicious Hooker; Coke, the greatest of Black-letter lawyers, and the rudest, but one of the sturdiest champions of English Liberty; Harriott, the mathematician, and anticipator of Des Cartes; Hakluyt, the faithful conservator of commercial explorations and geographical discoveries; Drake, the herald, and, in great measure, the founder of Britain's "Empire of the Seas;" these, and many others, of scarcely inferior repute in their day and generation, shared in the various efforts to establish an English Colony near the waters of the Chesapeake. They seemed to promise, by their arrival on the soil of Virginia, or by their connection with its settlement, that the various culture of England, her freedom, her society, and her policy, should be transferred to a new land, and cherished



into more vigorous and unrestrained development by the more favoring clime, the more fertile soil, and the wider domain of the late-won Hesperides :

Certus enim promisit Apollo  
Antiquam tellure nova Salamina futuram.

The immediate results of this amazing conjunction of talents and energies were trivial indeed. But, in the weakness or failure of the first efforts, bright auguries and brilliant memories were left behind, which revealed the extent and the intensity of the hidden impulses that had simultaneously directed the anxious hopes of the multitude to the land of promise beyond the setting sun.

So far was the settlement of Virginia, or the concurrence of so much hardihood and genius in its settlement, from being accidental, that they may be most manifestly proved to have been "the long result of time," and the natural maturity of all the previous tendencies of European progress. "Time, with his retinue of ages," hovered over the Capes of the Chesapeake, asking in those years the heritage of the goodly land for his English progeny. The subsequent battles, contentions, and revolutions of Europe, evince that the fulcrum on which plays the lever of the world thenceforward moved by a gradual procession along the habitual line of Empire to the Western Continent. The fortunes and the destinies of the great monarchies were from that day bound up, more and more intimately, with the progress of the American Colonies. Even the retardations and the obstructions to colonization—the frustration of Raleigh's sagacious enterprises, and their final abandonment by him—the unavenged sacrifice of White's colony at Roanoke—were indissolubly connected with great national transactions, with the long maritime warfare, unheralded and unsparing, between England and Spain—between freedom in politics, and religion, and action, and



thought, and despotism in all—and with the arrogant menace and ruinous overthrow of Philip's "Invincible Armada."

No permanent foothold in America was secured by the English until the 10th day of June, 1610. The discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot in the reign of Henry VII.—the explorations of the *Dominus Vobiscum*, the Trinity, and the Union, in the reign of Henry VIII.—the arctic voyages of Frobisher under Elizabeth—had only increased geographical knowledge, encouraged the English fisheries at Newfoundland, and displayed the inclination of England to disregard the Papal partition of the undiscovered lands of the Ocean between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal. The intelligence and heroism of Gilbert—the large sagacity, the untiring energy, and the lavish expenditures of Raleigh—the chivalry of Grenville—the gallantry and wisdom of Smith—had published the virtues of these several commanders, and proved how arduous is the task of sowing and cultivating the seeds of society. But all their labors, and daring, and outlays had failed to secure the establishment of the Colony for which the enthusiasm of themselves and their countrymen had been so deeply excited. There had been changes, and enlargements, and assignments, and forfeitures of Patents. Charters had been modified, and expanded, and divided. Large companies of wealthy, powerful, and illustrious men had combined to achieve a task too onerous for the matchless energy and abilities of Raleigh. Yet, after all these changes and renewed efforts, the English tenure of Virginia continued to be transitory or precarious.

The uninterrupted and determined occupation of the American soil dates only from Sunday, the 10th of June, 1610. On that day was commenced, with solemn, but resolute feelings, the restoration of the solitary hamlet possessed by the English in America, which had been abandoned with indignant despair three days before, after a troubled occupation of three tedious and eventful years.



Gaunt with famine; reduced in numbers by desertion, disease, and death; worn down with the long agony of hope deferred and hopes disappointed, having experienced new disasters with almost every fresh effort; oppressed even by the recent tardy and tempest-tost addition to their famishing community, overwhelmed with despondency, and sick of their hard exile,—the colonists resolved to cease their fruitless exertions, and to renounce all that the unimagined destinies reserved for their enterprise and their race. They fled from the scene of their trials and their afflictions, trusting themselves in crazy and rotten vessels to the mercy of those waves from which most of them had so lately escaped. They tempted the Ocean once more, with provisions barely sufficient for a brief voyage, but with the dreary and fainting expectation of obtaining the requisite supplies for their homeward journey from the fishing vessels which frequented the banks of Newfoundland.

Such was the prospective issue of the Colony at Jamestown! Such the result of the "The Starving Time in Virginia!" The calamitous experience of the Spanish, Portuguese, and French settlements, and of the failures of Sir Walter Raleigh at Roanoke, was renewed. This abandonment of Jamestown probably suggested to Lord Bacon the impressive remark: "It is the sinfulest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commendable persons."

In the previous year, Capt. John Smith had been compelled by a frightful accident to return to England for medical advice. Nearly five hundred persons received his farewell. Only sixty remained when Newport, and Gates, and Somers arrived from the Bermudas with one hundred and fifty recruits. These three chiefs, preceding Lord Delaware, the



Governor appointed under the last Charter, had been wrecked in the same vessel, amid the

Breadths of tropic shade, and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise, that adorn those Islands of Faërie, which received from one of these adventurers the name of the *Somer Isles*, and furnished to Shakspeare the original of "the still-vexed Bermoothes," peopled with the enchantments of Prospero, the love and innocence of Miranda, and the ideal graces of Ariel.

Nearly a year after their departure from England, the shipwrecked mariners arrived, with their commanders, at Jamestown, in two frail vessels of their own construction. Their numbers threatened only to increase the distress which their scanty stores could not long alleviate. All agreed to forsake the hapless country, as Lane's Colony had deserted Roanoke on the arrival of Drake, a quarter of a century before. Heavy, indeed, must have been the hearts of the settlers during the painful months preceding and necessitating this determination. These may have been occasioned or aggravated by improvidence, insubordination and vicious conduct; but the misery was not the less real, and the crisis of fate was not the less portentous, because they had provoked their own wretchedness.

A few hungry and half-clothed men, the relics of a large emigration; in the midst of the wilderness; surrounded by the forest and its savage occupants; without coherence among themselves; without the solace of woman's presence, or the charm of childish pranks and prattle; cut off from their country and their countrymen; removed by hundreds of desert miles from the nearest European settlers, in whom they would have recognized only enemies; with the wild waste of waters between them and their native land; with the unexplored immensity of 'the gloomy horror of the woods' towards the setting sun; without longer dream of



advantage to themselves—without amusement—without acceptable occupation for either mind or hand—without social order—without security—without hope of relief—without prospect of happiness or even tolerable misery—without adequate sustenance, or any imaginable encouragement—without health, or strength, or anticipation of continued life; they might well repudiate the interests of their native land, not yet comprehended by her sages; the demands of their creed, still associated with intolerant hostilities; and ignore everything else in the consciousness of their overpowering calamities.

The seed of Empire had been sown on the soil of Virginia by English enterprise, and English hands. It had put forth some struggling roots, but the plant had withered by neglect, mismanagement, misconduct and misfortune. The work of heroes and of sages was apparently destroyed. The hopes of England, and the promise of American liberty were once more afloat, returning on the current of the Powhatan, unfulfilled, and to prevent or delay future fulfillment. It was the critical hour of modern destinies. But the will of Providence was more propitious than the deliberations of men. The fugitives were arrested near the mouth of the river by Lord Delaware, who had at length arrived with re-inforcements and abundant supplies. They returned to their recently abandoned home; and, on the morrow, the 10th of June, they resumed, with prayer and thanksgiving, and earnest augury, the solemn task of laying the small foundations of a mighty Empire.

"It is," said they, "the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan."

"Doubt not," they proclaimed to the people of England, "God will raise our State, and build his Church in this excellent clime."



Could any thaumaturgic art have enabled Lord Delaware, or his fellow-workers, to look

into the Future, far as human eye could see ;

and have presented to him, or to them,

The Vision of the World, and all the Wonder that should be ;

what energy, what enthusiasm, what exultation, what sublime resolution, and what lofty endeavor, would have been inspired by the magnificent revelation ! The prescience, so accorded, might have extended beyond the clouds which now darken our horizon, and have reached to the contemplation of a vaster and still more prosperous confederation than has yet been imagined, beneath skies once more serene. The Royal Procession of Banquo's unborn heirs, closed by the then reigning monarch, James I. with the two-fold balls, and treble sceptre, borne by him as King of England, Scotland and Ireland, could not have afforded a more dazzling anticipation of future glory, than would have been seen issuing from the settlement of the first English Colony in America, under the auspices of the same King. Nor would the vision of Roman triumphs and the Imperial dominion of Rome, unveiled to the gaze of Æneas in the Elysian Fields, have revealed a scene of brighter promise for the human family, than would have been displayed in the boundless perspective, had any magic ointment unsealed the eyes of Lord Delaware, or any fond Anchises, or guiding Sibyl, pointed to Virginia, and her direct or collateral posterity, saying,

*hanc aspice gentem*

*Romanosque tuos.*

It was only the inauguration of the grand phantasmagoria which was unrolled before the admiring view of Lord



Bathurst, and immortalized by the oratory of Burke, which it inspired.

If such provision was denied to the actors and contemporaries of that significant, though obscure ceremonial, the restoration of Jamestown, we may transport ourselves in imagination to the scene, with all the knowledge that the achievements of generations have furnished, with all the illustration from anterior events that the more diligent and comprehensive study of history has supplied. That point of time and of space when despair was transmitted into persistent and successful endeavor, when English colonization was first assured, affords an appropriate "specular mount," from which to discern the agencies in the foretime, which received form, expression, and realization by that act and its consequences; and to detect its results in the ensuing generations, in the Continent on which it was enacted, and the Continent whence the impulse and the actors were derived.

The occasion may be deemed too slight to be made the symbol of such wide disturbance. The commencements of great political mutations are almost invariably trivial in appearance, often even contemptible. "The cloud as of the bigness of a man's hand" may be the herald of tempests which will involve the Heavens in universal tumult, and desolate extensive kingdoms. Consider the grain of mustard seed. It is not the magnitude of the occurrence, but the amount of antecedent preparation which it implies, and the character or range of its effects, which constitutes the importance of any historical transaction. The Virginia Colony was the summation of anterior tendencies, the germination of a new system—of a new process of the ages, and as such cannot be overrated.

In the tombs of the pristine inhabitants of the American Continent, a race extinct before this New World was discovered by Columbus, relics have been found suggesting the



presence of the arts and knowledge, the culture and the creeds, of all the more notable populations of antiquity. Chinese and Hindoos, Egyptians and Phœnicians, Jews and Etruscans, Greeks and Celts, Thibetans, Tartars, and other Mongolian races, are represented by the buried remains scattered over the land from the mediterranean seas of the North to the broad waters of the La Plata in the South. These strange, and scarcely appreciated evidences of the almost incomprehensible connection of the primitive occupants of America with the various peoples of the elder world, present an anticipation and prototype of what may be observed in her more recent history. All the civilized nations of the modern world have contributed, in diverse modes, their blood, their enterprise, their treasure, their learning, their experience, their invention, their manners, and their civility, to be fused into a new and all-embracing harmony beneath the Western skies. They have thus produced a universal amalgam, which, if the concoction proceed to perfection, may be, like the celebrated Corinthian brass, more precious than the aggregate of its constituent elements. All the currents of previous, and especially of modern progress, ran together in the Virginia Colony, and flowed onward to her younger sister: and Jamestown, at the moment of its renovation, marks the point, in space and time, where the grand conflux of the waters took place.

Isolated and anomalous as the phenomena of our political and social organization appear in the popular conception of them, no part of the continuous process of historical development is more rigidly and minutely the result of the silent laws of human progress; or more certainly the product of numerous antecedent catenations of inter-dependent causes. Even the discovery of America, at the time of its occurrence, was no fortuitous, or unprepared event. In the days when



the successful daring of Columbus broke like a revelation over Europe, his magnificent conquest from the unknown was a natural birth of the time, as his bold emprise and previous bold conviction were the offspring of preceding circumstances and conjectures, as well as of his own assiduous investigations and patient inductions.

The whole life of Columbus, his studies, his aspirations, his early career, his perseverance and pertinacity, exhibited the operation of the pervading influences of the Fifteenth Century upon a mind of singular genius and resolution. He lived in an age of amazing maritime adventure and intense commercial expectation. To recognize how largely his enterprise was due to prevalent tendencies, it is sufficient to peruse the remarkable exposition by the son of the motives which induced the father to attempt his hazardous exploration of the unmeasured Ocean. In that memorable statement nothing is more remarkable than the letter of the Florentine astronomer, Paul Toscanelli, which is declared to have been one of the main causes of the undertaking. This epistle was a repetition of a previous communication addressed by the same scientific Italian to Fernandez Martinez, of Lisbon, who was then engaged in similar inquiries. In this letter occur the geographical misapprehensions and miscalculations which deceived the contemporaries of Columbus and himself, but which constituted, in consequence of that deception, important elements of his success. Here, too, are the customary allusions to the distant explorations of Marco Polo, and of other travellers, who, during or after the Crusades, and actuated by impulses derived from them, had penetrated into the remote and hitherto unknown regions of Eastern Asia. This letter was written at Florence, on the 25th of June, 1474, eighteen years before Columbus sailed from the port of Palos to explore the bounds of the undefined Atlantic.



In a second letter, indeed, the date of which I have not been able to determine, Toscanelli writes to his illustrious correspondent :

"I am delighted that you have fully comprehended my demonstration, and that this voyage is no longer a mere possibility, but is henceforward certain and real; for its accomplishment would be an incalculable benefit, and an immense glory in the estimation of all Christendom."

Amongst other motives by which Columbus was stimulated in his great undertaking, according to the same indisputable authority, reference is made to the prophecy of Seneca, to the conjectures of Aristotle, or the Pseudo-Aristotle, to Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Marinus, Averroës, Alfergani, Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, Peter d'Ailly, and others who had visited strange regions, or had speculated on the shape of the earth, and on the distribution of its lands and waters.

All the nascent science, all the accumulated learning, the recent and the earlier observation and experience of Europe, in an age of peculiar intellectual energy, and of singular activity by sea and land, concentrated their illumination upon this point. The transcendant merit of Columbus consisted in his susceptibility to the spirit and tendencies of the period; in his collection, collation and appreciation of the abundant and luminous evidence; in his firm conviction, and in the unequalled sagacity and resolution which dared to act upon that conviction in the face of sneers, indifference, neglect, of unfathomable doubts and inconceivable dangers. The great man is not he who places himself at variance with the spirit of his age, but he who most thoroughly and intelligently accepts it, and is thereby enabled to render himself its most complete, and consequently its most potent and most novel realization.

In a more elaborate and detailed review of the concatenation of the great movements which attained their ultimate



accomplishment in the English settlements in America, it would be interesting to show how the enthusiastic pursuit of maritime discovery by the Portuguese, and the heroic, but sanguinary daring of the Spanish Conquerors, gradually sprung out of the Crusades;—and how, from the Crusades, concurrently with other causes which they encouraged or modified, arose also the commercial changes, the commercial necessities, and the commercial aspirations, which inflamed the minds of men in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, and produced the notable achievements of modern industry, literature, science, philosophy and civilization. The grand events of human history form parts of a single chain, though the separate links sometimes seem so trivial that their importance is overlooked till the whole series is regarded in its continuity. The midnight aspect of the starry heavens presents to the uninstructed gaze only dazzling perplexity and inextricable confusion. In the shining hieroglyphics traced by these countless orbs, the purged eye of science discerns the rule of eternal law, and order, immutable, though inexplicable, throughout the fathomless abysses of the sky. The moral processes of humanity are even more intricate and mysterious, but they, too, are obsequious to the same providential governance, which conjoins them into one harmonious, but incomprehensible scheme. What the poet declared in regard to the plastic powers and processes which mould the individual man, is equally applicable to the genesis and evolution of historical change :

Dust as we are, the immortal spirit grows  
Like harmony in music; there is a dark  
Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles  
Discordant elements, makes them cling together  
In one society.

The New World won from the Ocean—the late realization of Plat's dream of Atlantis, and of the dim tradition of



Antilia—was to become the heritage of the nations. It was first to be the prize of their rivalries and contentions. The elements of European culture were to be developed here, free from the antiquated restrictions transmitted from the past. The populations of Europe able to participate in the prospective fusion were to be introduced into America, and to display their capacity or incompetency to achieve the task prescribed by destiny. Spain, and Portugal, and France made trial of their skill: but the experiment failed in their hands. The winner of the race, the child of the world's promise and of the world's hopes, was almost the last of the competitors to enter upon the course. It was an accident, however, which perhaps prevented the discovery of the New Continent under the auspices of England.

The capture of Bartholomew Columbus by pirates, on his mission to offer his brother's services to the English monarch; the opportune conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Grenada, and the sagacity, ambition, piety, or cupidity of Queen Isabella, secured for Spain the honor of adding another Continent to the habitable earth. But it is still necessary to explain the long retardation of English adventure in the Western Hemisphere, which is rendered stranger by the fact that the main land of North America was actually visited by Cabot, sailing under the flag of Henry VII. before it had been seen by Columbus. This explanation will reveal much of the recondite significance and opportunity of the Virginia Colony, and will introduce us into the heart of the tangled policy, the great antagonistic tendencies, and the social perturbations, out of which arose the English settlements in America.

On the application of Don Henry of Portugal, Eugenius IV., by a papal bull conceded to that crown, 'an exclusive right to all countries which the Portuguese should discover from Cape Non to the Continent of India.' In consequence of the discoveries of Columbus, this grant was modified by the



infamous Alexander VI. and the whole of the unknown world, to the east and to the west of an imaginary line, was divided unintelligently between Spain and Portugal. Both concessions were united in the Spanish Crown, when the Duke of Alva, the executioner of the Netherlands, subjugated Portugal; and when Philip II. added, in 1580, the crowns of Portugal and both the Indies to the almost universal empire of Charles V. The date is important; for Queen Elizabeth's patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert was issued only two years before, and the patent to Sir Walter Raleigh only four years after this vast monopoly of the regions of colonial enterprise had been effectuated.

France, indeed, while waging war on the Flemish frontier and in Italy, had disregarded the pontifical donations in the same spirit in which she had sought and received the alliance of the Turks. England had also timidly manifested a disposition on some occasions to secure a foothold in the New World. But the obligatory force of the prohibition to all strangers to interfere with the inheritance of the Spanish and Portuguese sovereigns, was operative in England, and was effectually asserted in the reign of Edward IV. with regard to the trade of the Guinea Coast. This proscription continued to operate until the throne of Elizabeth was indissolubly connected with the political success of the Reformation, and a war between England and Spain had become a prospective certainty. Thus the chief event of modern centuries, the dislocation of temporal and ecclesiastical authority, and the change of political systems and religious creeds by the Reformation of Luther, was an important and even necessary preliminary to the establishment of an English Colony in Virginia. The nativity of our ancient metropolis was heralded and prepared by memorable events: and the mighty omens which preceded its foundation were fair auguries of the vast consequences to humanity, in the near or the distant future, to be anticipated



from the first English settlement—the first offshoot of English freedom in America.

The papal prohibition might have failed to produce such unaccustomed abstinence on the part of the English during the century of Portuguese and Spanish discovery, and the following century of Portuguese, Spanish and French appropriation, if the political and social condition of England had not tended concurrently to the same result.

In the last year of the fourteenth century the throne of England was usurped by Henry IV., and the crown transferred to 'the aspiring blood of Lancaster.' Thus the century of maritime discovery was in England ushered in by the commencement of the long discord which desolated the land, destroyed its resources, despoiled its cities, and sacrificed its people. Rachel, weeping for her children, could not exchange her ravaged home for distant wanderings. War with Scotland—the persecution of the Lollards—the victory of Agincourt,—and the acquisition of the French Crown, occupied the first quarter of the century. But the premature death of Henry V.—the infancy and the idiocy of his ill-fated son—the rivalries and the intrigues of the Royal Dukes and other great nobles—precipitated the expulsion of the English from France under the patriotic impulse communicated by the heroic exaltation of Joan of Arc. The ruinous wars of the Roses ensued—the long contention between the houses of York and Lancaster—not terminated by the Battle of Bosworth, and scarcely concluded by the astute policy and cool tyranny of Henry VII. and the princes of the Tudor line. During such long continued agitations, industry and commerce, and maritime adventure, could not experience the genial gales which were speeding Portugal and Spain to their glorious discoveries in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific oceans. In England, the energies of the people and their resources had been wasted, the political constitution had been widely



shaken, and the social fabric seemed to be shivered from the crown to the base. Society and government demanded reconstruction and the animation of a new spirit, before the period of English expansion and triumph could be inaugurated.

This process of renovation was fortunately reserved for the sixteenth century—the era of Spanish and Portuguese conquest, occupation and colonization—though it was only ineffectually and transitorily accomplished even then. The conquests of Cortez and Pizarro, and Albuquerque were achieved—the mines of Mexico and Peru, and ‘the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind’ had been won—the *Araucana* of Ercilla y Zúñiga, and the *Lusiad* of Camoens had been written—before England dreamt of oceanic or trans-oceanic empire. The accession of the youthful, splendid, accomplished and ambitious monarch, Henry VIII., might have promised an early completion of the tendency to political and social reorganization, and to external development. But, instead of wisely prosecuting the silent offices of peace, he preferred to blaze among the illustrious sovereigns of that memorable time;—to outshine Francis of France on the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and to rival Francis. and Charles V., and Leo X., and Soleyman, the Magnificent, on the troubled arena of European politics. His futile intervention in the controversies of the Continent; his endeavor to balance the scales between Francis and Charles; his adoption and assertion of the Reformation on matrimonial grounds; his dissolution of the monasteries, and appropriation of their revenues for financial and political considerations; his fluctuating and capricious regulation of the creed of his subjects by fire, gibbet and prison; exacerbated the social agitation, and diverted his attention, and the enterprise of his people, from any effectual attempt to participate in the new treasures of the Eastern and Western worlds. The religious oscillations, with the attendant persecutions of the reigns of Edward VI.—the bloody Mary—and Elizabeth,



prolonged the retardation of England's commercial importance. It was further delayed by the solicitude with which Henry VII. coveted a Spanish alliance for his dubious line; by the marriage of Henry VIII. with the aunt of Charles V.; by the union of Philip II., the son of Charles, with Queen Mary, on whose death the Spanish potentate promptly tendered his hand to Queen Elizabeth, without experiencing an equally prompt repulse.

Thus the domestic relations of the Tudor family to the sovereigns of Spain,—the aspirations of the founders of the line for continental influence—and the internal condition of their country, social, political and religious,—all concurred in closing for more than a century the portals of America to English adventurers. But a wonderful change was gradually introduced by the stirring incidents and novel interests of the reign of Elizabeth. In heart, she remained of the old religion of her father, accepting the most controverted tenets of the rejected creed, but regarding her own ecclesiastical supremacy as the most important article of the true faith.

The throne of Elizabeth was insecure. It was not confirmed till the execution of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, thirty years after her accession. The legitimacy of Elizabeth had been solemnly denied by her tyrannical father. This denial had been corroborated by Act of Parliament—by the sign-manual of her half-brother, Edward VI.—and by the formal legitimization of her elder half-sister, Queen Mary. This decision would, perhaps, be sustained by the strict rules of law and morals. Mary of Scotland was apparently the true lineal inheritor of the English Crown; and her claims, if they had been sustained by her native kingdom, would have been pressed by her ambitious kinsmen, the Guises, and might have been maintained by the arms of France, as they were asserted by the intrigues and the navies of Spain. Elizabeth was thus



compelled by her position to espouse the Protestant cause, to identify herself with the Protestant movement, and to become the champion of Protestantism against that communion, which repudiated her title to the throne, and in concert with one or other of the great Catholic powers, endeavored by intrigue, violence, and commination, to subvert her authority, to alienate her subjects, to provoke rebellion, to invite her assassination, or to crush her by open hostilities. Thus was she thrown upon her people for support, and nobly did they respond to her confidence. Thus was she obliged to conciliate their good will, and to cherish their resources, by the diligent cultivation of their national sentiments and institutions, of their energies, their capacities, their industry, and their commerce. All this she did with unwavering firmness and wonderful sagacity. Much of the success may have been due to the political intelligence of her prudent ministers, but the spirit, the equability, and the grandeur of her rule, may be safely ascribed to her own regal mind and capacious intellect. The necessities which imposed upon her the task of nursing at home the sources of present security and independence, urged her to seek, foster, and create new elements of power abroad. Hence, she encouraged the Protestant revolution throughout Europe—fanning the flame in Germany, and sending her troops and commanders to uphold it by arms in the distracted realm of Scotland, in the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and amongst the Huguenots in the wars of the League in France. Hence, she appeared as the ally of John Knox and the Regent Murray; of William of Orange and his son, Maurice; of Condé, Coligny, and Henry of Navarre. Hence, too, she readily connived at, authorized, or participated in, the semi-piratical enterprises of her courtiers and captains against the marine and the possessions of the overwhelming despotism of Spain.

In these military and naval schools were formed the daring



and versatile adventurers, who humbled the pride of Philip, and crippled the power of the Spanish Crown—who carried the English flag into all seas, and introduced the seeds of English freedom and polity into Virginia.

In defending her throne, and asserting the independence of her kingdom, the truly national policy of Elizabeth extinguished forever the pretensions of the Austrian rulers of Spain to universal empire. The same measures which achieved this protection of the civil and religious liberties of Europe, simultaneously developed with amazing rapidity the intelligence, cultivation, and prosperity of the English. We can scarcely appreciate the immensity and the variety of the impulses then communicated to England, to free institutions and to civilization, without patiently contemplating the host of stars, of all degrees of brilliancy and of all magnitudes, which, in isolated and unapproached splendor, or clustered together in glittering constellations, illumined with their blended radiance the skies of the Elizabethan age. On the muster roll of the Immortals were inscribed, during that half century, English names, which still stir the blood like the sound of a clarion, echoing with ever-augmented reverberations over the earth, and marking the rise and fall of states; the revolutions of religion, polity, science, and philosophy; the bloom of literature; the conquests of commerce, and the triumphs of the land and of the sea. This roll of glory is too voluminous for present exhibition; but, long as it is, each separate name is the symbol of achievements, which alone merited the assiduous labors of an age.

The circumstances of the time co-operated with the deliberate efforts of Elizabeth. The destruction of the old feudal barons in the Wars of the Roses, (St. Alban's, and Towton, and Barnet, and Tewkesbury,) and by the more fatal exactions of Henry VII.—the perturbations of landed wealth consequent on the dissolution of the monasteries—and the



gradual abrogation of serfdom, by no act of legislature or monarch, but by the changes of private interest—these sweeping mutations had entirely revolutionized the constitution of society, and altered the character of all social arrangements. A new nobility had sprung up. An industrious middle class had arisen, and been aided in the rapid accumulation of wealth and influence by the long civil strife and commercial disturbances in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. The occupations of the people were altered. Lands were enclosed for pasturage. Commerce and manufactures started into life. Towns were enlarged and built. The resources of the nation were multiplied, and capital was continually re-duplicated. But large bodies of the people were reduced by the sudden revulsion to pauperism and mendicancy. The ancient nobility and gentry, who had derived their social and political preponderance from their territorial possessions, found themselves outstripped in wealth and power by those who fattened on the rising riches of industry, speculation, and trade. The sentiment put by Shakespeare in the mouth of Hamlet, was familiar in that day to the experience and regrets of "the good old gentlemen of England;" and is commemorated in such contemporaneous ballads as "Time's Alteration, and "The Old and Young Courtier." "The age is grown so picked, that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe."

A rapid social fermentation was then in progress, changing the pursuits of men, and throwing whole classes of the English people out of the ancient routine of life and employment. These classes were peculiarly the laboring population, the idlers by profession, and the gentry and nobility of reduced or unsettled fortunes. Thus were simultaneously supplied and animated the hands to execute, and the intelligence to contrive and direct novel and arduous adventures. The difficulty and uncertainty of support at home actuated the rank



and file of these adventurers. The prospect of sudden gain and eminent renown inspired their leaders. Hence, when undeclared or proclaimed hostilities with Spain exposed the Spanish galleons, and colonies, and coasts to the private or public warfare of the English marine, and threw open to English assault or occupation the colonial regions of the world, united under one sceptre by Philip's acquisition of Portugal, the moral and material instruments were already prepared to take advantage of this conjuncture. In availing themselves of the tempting opportunities of that great crisis, the English rovers, the Drakes, and Hawkinses, and Fro-bishers, and Raleighs, and Grenvilles, and Lanes, easily beguiled themselves in regard to the complicated motives by which their enterprises were impelled. Selfish aims were the instruments by which the beneficent designs of Providence were accomplished. The desire of private emolument was combined with and dignified by higher and more generous purposes. Every success obtained at the expense of the grasping despotism of Spain was an effectual blow struck for the security of the English throne—for the assertion and propagation of the Protestant religion—for the defence and enfranchisement of the nations—and for the privilege of untrammelled thought and action, and of expanding intelligence. Happy is the age when personal interests are thus identified with the processes of national grandeur, and with the advancing destinies of humanity! Fortunate, indeed, were the days of "Good Queen Bess," when this union took place for the exaltation of "Merrie England," and the diffusion of the Anglo-Saxon race! With instinctive and prophetic felicity did the maiden queen bestow her own highly-prized appellation of Virginia on the favored land where the English first obtained seizin of America! At that moment of time, on that distant spot, and by that act of occupation, marked forever by the restoration of Jamestown, all the hues of English



progress, all the currents of English freedom, all the promises of English greatness, all the tendencies of augmenting civilization, were represented, concorporated, and assured.

In estimating the social agitation during the reigns of Elizabeth and her successor, which has been indicated as one of the main incentives to colonial adventure, and as one of the chief agencies in commercial expansion, reference must be made to the financial condition of those times. Influences, apparently humble in their nature, and obscure in their action, but which are universal in their play, are more permanently and more potently operative than impulses of more splendid aspect. It was during these years, the close of the 16th and the commencement of the 17th century, that the prices of all productions, and of the agents of production, were rapidly rising in consequence of the augmentation of the precious metals by the copious supplies from the American mines. Nearly a century elapsed after the discovery of the Western World, before the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru occasioned any general derangement in values, or in the relations of society. Towards the conclusion of that period the financial disturbance generated large and rapid fortunes—embarrassed monarchs and governments, altering their relations to their subjects—disorganized the public exchequer—aggravated the necessities of the poor—heightened the cupidity of the rich—diminished the comparative ease of the ancient gentry—increased the luxury and ostentation of wealth—and inflamed the speculations of daring adventurers. To this cause must in part be attributed the contemporaneous celebrity of the Rosicrucians, the continued encouragement given to the pursuits of alchemy, in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert suffered himself to be involved—the impatient avidity with which gold was demanded from all newly-discovered lands—the perseverance with which strange routes to the East Indies were explored—by Archangel—by the North



West passage—through Muscovy, Persia, Egypt—along the shores of North America—and in the interior of North Carolina and Virginia. To the same impulse we must also partially ascribe the restless activity with which the English endeavored to multiply alliances with strange nations, and the establishment of great mercantile associations—the Russia—the Turkey—the East India—the Virginia—the London—and the Plymouth Companies.

The religious dissensions in England have not been enumerated among the direct influences determining English colonization in America. The general movement communicated by the Reformation, and the spirit impressed by it on the whole series of colonial transactions, are sufficiently evident, and have been frequently alluded to. These discords tended to multiply the colonies after one had been established; they increased emigration from abroad, and augmented the colonial population; they determined the location of different bodies of exiles; and they exasperated into a passionate enthusiasm the attachment of the colonists to civil and religious liberty; but they did not, in any considerable degree, encourage the original fervor of colonization. The chief influence of a religious character, which excited the early English efforts, was derived from no sectarian quarrels at home, but from the pervading spirit of the Reformation, as embodied in the national resistance to the spiritual and political domination of Spain. The main significance of the occupation of the North American shores by the English must, therefore, be sought from the early Virginia colony, and not from the sectional or sectarian import of the later Puritan settlements in New England, the Catholic province of Maryland, the Huguenot emigrants in South Carolina, or the Quaker establishments in Pennsylvania. Each of these Plantations, and of the States which have issued from them, possesses its



own merits and its own distinctive claims to respectful consideration. They have their own honor, as they had their several missions, which I would rather enhance than tarnish. Each has co-operated, in its own mode, and in its own good time, in preparing, effectuating and evolving the system of the American Confederation. But the inauguration of the mighty drama was due, not to them, nor to the influences which distinguished them from each other, but to the leader of the forlorn hope of English colonization in America—the first English settlement at Jamestown. The virtue of the plant is in the seed. The circulation proceeds from the root to all the umbrageous and fruit-bearing branches. The historical significance of the American Union must, consequently, be referred to the Virginia colony. This conclusion is corroborated by observing how the spirit and progress of the Old Dominion, the character of the Revolution, and the genius of the United States, have all been affected by the fact that Virginia was founded by the gallant gentlemen of England, and was replenished with her best blood, instead of proceeding from religious sectaries, and perpetuating in her veins the venom of theological discord and polemical rancor.

The large and solemn purport of the Virginia Colony, and its efficacy in promoting the liberty, intelligence and civilization of humanity, arose from that very procrastination of English maritime adventure, which, at first view, provokes both surprise and regret. Had England engaged in colonial conquests concurrently with Portugal, or Spain, or France, she would have transplanted to these Hesperian shores the crumbling institutions of an expiring social system, the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic creed, and the despotic rule of the Tudor line. In consequence of the delay, the first fruits of the approaching regeneration of England were naturalized here; while the superannuated trunk, from which the vigorous



offshoot had been taken, was left in its native soil to undergo the painful process of decay and regeneration. The vanguard of English intelligence and freedom erected the standard of liberty and hope on the bays of Roanoke and the banks of the Powhatan. Not merely were the learning, and science, and literature, and practical wisdom, and active energy of the brilliant age of Elizabeth domiciliated here by the opportune establishment of the Virginia Colony, but the glowing promise of the future, in that glorious dawn of English splendor, so soon to be involved in tumult and clouds at home, was conveyed with loftier auspices, and ampler ulterior capabilities of realization, to the infant offspring of England beyond the Atlantic flood. In that day, Pandora's box had been delivered into the hands of Albion. It had been opened with the impatience characteristic of nations, as of individuals. The liberated troop of evils and discords flew abroad over the land, and incited long and acrimonious dissension, and civil war. The undying hope of humanity that remained behind, floated over the waters with the adventurers of the Virginia Company, rested on the foundation-stone of resurgent Jamestown, and may still cheer the ominous apprehensions of the present generation.

The age of Elizabeth was gilded with the genial light of the elder time. The illumination of former days shed a softer glory over the reign of the Maiden Queen than had belonged to those feudal centuries whence the light had been transmitted, or had shone upon any former period since the dreamy infancy of ancient Greece. The lingering sunset of chivalry clothed the court and camp of Elizabeth with a gentler effluence than attended its meridian; and, as it sunk in the distant West, the long line of undulating glory, which stretched across the Atlantic from England to America, marked the pathway of empire reaching westward to its resting-place. It was an



exhilarating omen that the colonization of Virginia was undertaken and achieved, while

Life's morning radiance had not left the hills,  
Her dew was on the flowers.

The influences of childhood, unnoted as they may be, accompany us through life, and unconsciously mould the character and shape the destiny. It must be, as it has been, a cherished recollection of Virginians, and an active incentive to patriotic achievement, that the colony whence they have sprung was founded by a race of heroes, who united to their martial prowess and practical prudence, the courtly graces of knighthood, the noble sentiments of chivalry, and the early bloom of literary and scientific culture. It is a proud reflection, that Virginia might appropriately assume as her crest the Red Crosse Knight of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, to indicate the time, the mode, the circumstances, and the significance of her original establishment. For the same reason, she might herself be fitly blazoned under the symbol of *Una* and her lamb:

The lovely ladie rode him faire beside.

These allusions to the most attractive portion of Spenser's enchanting poem suggest a brief notice of the special religious function of the English Colonies of America in the general history of the world. The *First Book of the Faerie Queene*, to which reference is made, represents the machinations of *Duessa*, or the Papacy against *Fidessa*, or the Reformed Church; and illustrates the final triumph of *Una*, or *Holiness*. In England, and throughout Europe, the ideal anticipations of Spenser were frustrated or impaired by long continued religious discords, and by foreign and domestic wars



propagated by religion, or waged in its name. The contemplated issue has scarcely been attained even yet. If the fortunes of religion, or the prospects of toleration, had been abandoned entirely to the perils of this long and embittered strife, they might still be endangered, or uncertain. The result was definitely and effectually attained, so far as it was attained, only by the favoring necessities and accidents which encompassed the English settlements in America. There alone did Protestantism become dominant without a rival or domestic adversary. Thence alone could proceed the complete and unembarrassed manifestation of Protestant tendencies in spiritual, political and social affairs. It was by their example, and countenance, and aid, and provocation, that the Catholic dominion of Spain and France on this Continent was first restricted--then diminished; and, at last, nearly obliterated. Moreover, the English establishments in America, with the commerce and wealth and naval superiority engendered by them, gave the Protestant party in Europe an equi-ponderance with the Catholic, and ultimately a decided political predominance. This balance of the two great forces of modern history was not merely the generating cause of the principal wars in Europe down to the French Revolution, but it was the mainspring of the movements of the modern world, and the chief impulse to the rapid development of the energies and resources of modern civilization. The principal stages of this progress are marked in the historical geography of America by the subjugation of Jamaica--the re-occupation of Nova Scotia, and seizure of the adjacent islands--the conquest of Canada--the reduction of the Northwest by Virginia; the purchase of Louisiana--the acquisition of Florida, and the independence of the Spanish Provinces in North and South America. These territorial changes were nearly all concurrent with, and consequent upon, the great wars in Europe.

But 'peace hath her victories as well as war.' These losses



of the Catholic powers represented larger acquisitions of wealth and influence, gained at their expense by the Anglo-Saxon race, in the aggrandisement of their commerce, manufactures, industry, activity, prosperity and intelligence.

This long struggle was attended with universal benefit to humanity. Had Catholicism ruled with supreme dominion over the earth, coincidently with the universal empire of Spain, or France, or Austria, intelligence must have become stagnant or retrograde—enterprise must have been arrested—progress been paralyzed and freedom extinguished. From this fate the world was preserved by the sturdy maintenance of Protestantism—by the sudden augmentation of English prestige and power—by the various blows inflicted by England on Spain—and by Marlborough's victories over the armies of Louis XIV. Blenheim, and Ramillies, and Oudenarde, and Malplaquet secured the fortunes of Protestantism and liberal institutions when they were still trembling in the balance. The energies, and resources, and policy which triumphed on these splendid battle-fields had been largely due to the maritime ascendancy of England, created in the first instance, and expanded afterwards by its colonial possessions in America.

As the long series of dependent effects is involved in the ultimate cause; as both blossom and fruit are potentially, if not actually, contained in the nascent germ; no injustice is done to later co-agents, no exaggeration of the truth produced, by regarding the Virginia Colony as the seminal principle whence proceeded the renovated order of the ages, and the new progeny commissioned by Heaven.

*Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.  
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;  
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.*

When I regard the aspects and the evolutions of the Past;  
the abundant achievement of the Present, embodied in this



great Confederacy ;—when I contemplate the uncertain but still exhilarating promises of the Future, I cannot deem myself beguiled by the attractions of a most attractive subject into any undue estimation of the significance of the first successful attempt at English colonization in America. I have only clothed with words the revelations of accomplished history, while indulging, from the scene of Jamestown, these

Sweet meditations, the still overflow  
Of present happiness, while future years  
Lacked not anticipations, tender dreams,  
No few of which have since been realized ;  
And some remain, hopes for our future life.

The definite establishment of the Virginia Colony furnished the elevated point of view whence the eye swept round the wide horizon of modern history. The longer and the more diligently the progress of humanity is contemplated from this lone watch-tower of time, the grander and the more impressive appears the prospect, and the more crowded becomes the phantasmagoria with the portentous shapes of struggling creeds, embattled systems, warring monarchs, rising and declining empires, while, in the far distance, continues to arise from the dust, and din, and confusion of the spectral turmoil, like the immortal spirit ascending from the grave, the enlarging and glorified divinity of America.

The rapid and inadequate survey of the antecedent and contemporaneous events and tendencies which received their fulfillment, immediate or prospective, in the American Colonies of England, has necessarily left the modes of operation undetailed, and numerous phenomena altogether unnoticed. Yet all the living movements of Europe have been seen to contribute, voluntarily or involuntarily, the choice rewards of their effort as gems to sparkle in the coronet of the infant Virginia. The chart of modern civilization clearly reveals the confluence of all the main channels of progress in the Vir-



ginia Colony. If the point of convergence appear trivial or obscure, this can only be occasioned by the infirmity of the human mind, which disables it from appreciating consequences in their inception—from anticipating results before ‘the dust groweth into hardness, and the clods cleave fast together’—or from interpreting

those blind motions of the Spring  
That show the year is turned.

If the prophetic “vision and the faculty divine” be wisely denied to man, history furnishes the necromantic art which can evoke from the shades the actors and the actions of the past, and elicit from them oracles refused to the contemporaneous generations. There are certain vases which appear dull and opaque in the ordinary light of day, but over whose surface spread images, grotesque, or beautiful, or suggestive, when illuminated from within. Similar to these are the incidents, and forms, and fashions of past centuries. They preserve impressions which are only rendered legible by the inner light supplied by a later time.\* If

—— the meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears,

is it not reasonable to suppose that historical transactions, of humble original pretensions, but growing within our knowledge by a secret life into mighty forms, may have possessed from the beginning a fullness of meaning and predestined vitality, unsuspected at the period of their occurrence, and not fathomable till the issues of time approximate to their perfection?

Did these views require further corroboration than the seal of reality, which is impressed upon them, that evidence would be abundantly supplied by the sequel to the inquiry which has been hazarded. Every great mutation in the subsequent



phases of Europe has been connected, by a reciprocating movement, with the fortunes of the American Colonies; and the reaction of America upon Europe has increased with the years till the machinery of the world is set in motion, and its population employed and supported mainly by the products of the Southern States. The investigation into the details of this extensive change is wider even than that which has been so imperfectly prosecuted. It demands other occasions and other expositors. But, to justify the statement advanced, it may be noted that the growth and population of Virginia and her sister colonies were favored by the convulsions of Germany and the whole continent during the Thirty Years' War—by the jealousies of Spain and France—and by the domestic transmutation of the latter country under the guidance of Richelieu—that the English Navigation Acts, which so powerfully affected the mercantile growth of England and the internal development of the American Colonies, and which invited and inaugurated the American Revolution, were passed during the ascendancy of Cromwell and under the Restoration of Charles II., in a spirit of hostility against the Dutch—that the Great Rebellion in England, the discords under Charles II. and James II.—the Revolution of 1688—the Dutch wars, and the vast schemes of Louis XIV.—the perils of the Hanoverian succession, and the repeated menaces of Jacobite insurrection—withdraw scrutiny from the English colonies, and favored the uninterrupted development of the native energy of self-government. During the great wars of the eighteenth century, American interests were continually involved, and became the predominant consideration in the Seven Years' War, so far as France and England were concerned. The treaties of Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle and Paris gave increasing prominence to American affairs. By the terms of the last peace, France was excluded from the Western continent. Out of the war preceding this peace, grew the claim of Eng-



land to American revenue, or, at least, to the right of taxing America. Both demands were repudiated by the Colonies. From this resistance sprang the American Revolution and American independence—kindled and sustained by the increase of population, energy, wealth, and territory, resulting from the long European wars of the century. The controversies, which kindled and accompanied the war of American Independence, were co-ordinate with the memorable struggle of the Rockingham party in England for the maintenance of the English franchises. Burke, and his allies, avowed that English freedom was staked on the event of the American Revolution. “We are convinced,” says Burke, in the bold address to the king; “we are convinced, beyond a doubt, that a system of dependence, which leaves no security to the people for any part of their freedom in their own hands, cannot be established in any inferior member of the British Empire, without consequentially destroying the freedom of that very body, in favor of whose boundless pretensions such a scheme is adopted.” \* \* \* “What, gracious sovereign, is the empire of America to us, or the empire of the world, if we lose our own liberties? We deprecate this last of evils. We deprecate the effect of the doctrines, which must support and countenance the government over conquered Englishmen.”

The remembrance of mortifying disasters, and of the recent loss of their vast American possessions, inflamed the jealousy of the French, and stimulated equally the secret encouragement and the open assistance extended by France to the American patriots in their revolt against English exaction. The companions of La Fayette, and Rochambeau, and D’Estaing, zealously conveyed to France the opinions and the policy which they had aided in rendering triumphant on this side of the Atlantic. Their new enthusiasm for liberty helped to precipitate the French Revolution. Thus, even from this



hasty sketch, it appears that the progress of America had a direct effect on the fortunes of Europe, and that every stage in the destinies of Europe was closely implicated with the growth, development, prosperity and influence of the English colonies.

To secure unity of view, all these great changes, antecedent or subsequent to the first efforts of English colonization, have been regarded from the central position afforded by the restoration of Jamestown. To this point converged all previous tendencies, and from it radiated those diverse potencies which encouraged or absorbed the more recent currents of human progress. The Virginia Colony thus reflects the summation or anticipation of modern advancement. It is the magic mirror which revives the Past, explains the Present, and reveals the hopes, if not the promises, of the Future.

But the end is not yet. The movement originally communicated to the heavenly bodies not only rolled them at the first along their mighty orbits, but attended and attends them throughout the millennial periods of their existence, determining their habitual relations to each other, and all the modifications of the material universe. Complicated and incalculable as may be the varied consequences of the original impulse, the dependence of the effects is evident and unmistakable. Similarly, any movement impressed upon the social masses of the world, which in their oscillating revolutions effectuate the historical progress of humanity, operates through all time in regulating and generating the subsequent evolutions of the race. No mechanical power is inactive in the cosmical system—no force is squandered in the moral universe. The magnitude of the influence to be expected from any novel phenomenon in the political progress of the world may be estimated from the amount of previous preparation, and will be evinced by the concentration of forces involved in



its production and accomplished development. From the universality of this law it may be confidently proclaimed that Virginia, and the later stars of the American constellation, announced a nobler and loftier destiny than was ever vouchsafed to any other community.

All the main lines of earlier progress constitute the heralds and the servitors of Virginia. Her nativity was the signal for the multiplication of similar settlements on the coasts secured to England by her establishment. The conjoined development and confederation of all of these—aided immensely by the special and direct action and generosity of Virginia herself—have created a vast republic, transcending in resources and capabilities the universal empires of an earlier time. Since the settlement of the First Colony, the influence of these commonwealths on the ancient monarchies of Europe has been immediate—powerful—and ever-expanding. In our own days, Virginia and her progeny have assumed, in their union and by their union, the position of one of the chief powers of the earth. This has been done in the infancy of the nation. But larger than all past accomplishment is the promise of prospective and rapid grandeur. While thus growing in strength, and resources, and population, and power; and, by the very process of increase, a home has been reared in the West for the free; an asylum offered for the oppressed of all nations, climes, tongues, and creeds; and the wealth, and invention, and intelligence, and culture of the whole world have been naturalized and multiplied here. “If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?”

By the long series of great events which has generated the results around us—by the golden promise of the dawn—by the dazzling performance of the early day—are we not invited to indulge fair auguries of the meridian splendor? In the



midst of the doubts and alarms, which for the time encircle us with almost impenetrable mists, are we not still compelled to recognize "an increasing purpose ;"

And through thick veils to apprehend  
A labor working to an end.

The destiny of Rome seems to be renewed in the only other republic that ever approximated to the power, enterprise, and extent of the Roman dominion. It is apparently designed by Providence that the United States should attract, absorb, incorporate, and consubstantiate, as Rome did in antiquity, all the improvable races of mankind—all the tendencies of human progress—all the mature elements of modern civilization—and should sublimate the all-embracing concretion into the fairest fruit of time. All this, though the task of centuries, and the conjoint achievement of the federated States, of both European and American advancement, and of all terrestrial and celestial influences, will be regarded in long-distant years, when present passions have expired and present systems have vanished, as the abundant fruitage of the Virginia Colony.

But to realize these bright auguries, the scheme of destiny must not be thwarted by the jealousies and reckless improvidence of men. Nations have their fates in their own hands, as well as individuals, and they may make or mar their fortunes. The tables of the Divine law may be dashed into fragments, in consequence of the fury of a stiff-necked and rebellious people, and a golden calf, the abomination of Egypt, set up for worship in their stead, by the very children of the promise. The populations to whom the triumphant career is announced by the whole tenor of the past, may dissipate the vision in the clouds by the tempests of civil discord, evoked from the dark caverns of the human heart, where they are with difficulty kept in subjection. But, if lofty destinies are



rejected, and nations are torn asunder, and populations are extirpated, and societies are extinguished by foreign war, or domestic dissension, or moral decay, the purpose of Providence moves on to its sure accomplishment, waiting only for a more propitious time, and seeking or creating more docile and intelligent instruments.

It is a mighty and unfathomable destiny which has been entrusted to the American people; and with the solemnity, and caution, and patience, and unfailing resolution, which such a destiny demands, they should strive for its accomplishment—discarding alike the dictates of anger, the suggestions of prejudice, and the temptations of pecuniary interest. But whatever issue impends—whether our sun at its appointed meridian shall look down in splendor, through the unclouded blue on a happy and united continent, smiling in plenteousness, and crowned with virtue; or shall conceal his face in angry gloom from a divided, and shattered, and warring people—the past is secured beyond the reach of casualty. The Virginia Colony furnished the exemplar and initiation of the English colonial system—she led the procession of modern freedom—she laid the foundation stone of the great edifice into which were aggregated the numerous members of the American republic—she opened the oceans to the commerce of England, and to the mercantile enterprise of the world. She inaugurated, too, the struggle which preserved the liberties of England and conquered those of America; and she taught a lesson to the world, which future ages will yet realize, even if the glory of completing what she so well began, should be forfeited by her and her companions in trial and in fame.

In closing this tribute to the services conferred by Virginia upon humanity, in consequence of the indissoluble connection of American with European history, may I be permitted to link once more the distinctions of the daughter



with the honors of the mother-land, by returning again to the heights which overlook the submerged site of Jamestown, and by applying to the Virginia Colony, in its infancy and in its progress, in the present and prospective promise of the Old Dominion, the eulogy and prayer pronounced over his native country by the laureate of England :

Of old sat Freedom on the heights,  
The thunders breaking at her feet;  
Above her shook the starry lights—  
She heard the torrents meet.

Within her place she did rejoice,  
Self gathered in her prophet-mind;  
But fragments of her mighty voice  
Came rolling on the wind.

Then stept she down through town and field  
To mingle with the human race,  
And part by part to men revealed  
The fullness of her face—

\* \* \*

Her open eyes desire the truth.  
The wisdom of a thousand years  
Is in them. May perpetual youth  
Keep dry their light from tears;

That her fair form may stand and shine,  
Make bright our days and light our dreams,  
Turning to scorn with lips divine  
The falsehood of extremes!



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# The Marriage of Pocahontas.

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## NOTES

ON THE

DATE OF POCAHONTAS' MARRIAGE, AND SOME OTHER  
INCIDENTS OF HER LIFE,

READ BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BY

WYNDHAM ROBERTSON, Esq.

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## THE MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.

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The date of this event, though of little historic importance, yet as a mere point of history, as well as for other reasons, is not wholly devoid of some curiosity and interest. Although the most incontestible authorities exist whereby to fix it, it is yet singular, that an error in regard to it has been so often reproduced, as to seem, now, almost imbedded in history. Almost all authorities concur in referring it to *April*, 1613. Stith says, "it was in the beginning of April, 1613," (p. 130;) Beverley says, "Pocahontas being thus married in the year 1613," (p. 28;) Howison has "1613, early in April;" Sims, (p. 335,) "Spring of 1613;" Hilliard, in Sparks' Biography, "beginning of April, 1613," (vol. 2. p. 371;) and Campbell, so late as the present year, (1860,) says, "early in April, 1613," (p. 109.)

Yet it is demonstrable that it took place about the 5th April, 1614.

These writers, doubtless, reposed on the authority of Smith. But I will shew hereafter that he was, probably, under no mistake, and only seemed to have been, by the (probably accidental) misplacing of a marginal note.

About *the time of her capture* there can be no room for mistake. We have the letter of Captain (Sir Samuel) Argall himself, its date June, 1613, in 4 Purchas, (p. 1764, *et seq.*) It is there stated that he sailed from England "23d July, 1612;" arrived in Virginia "17th September;" visited Smith's Island "beginning of November;" went to Pem-



brook river "1st December;" returned to Jamestown "1st January," (necessarily 1613;) "arrived at Point Comfort 1st February;" returned to Pembroke river "17th March," thence to Patowmeck; captured "Pohahuntis" by treachery; departed with her "13th of April" for Jamestown, and delivered her to Governor Gates; again departed in his shallop, for discovery, "the 1st of May;" returned to his ship "May 12th, 1613," (in margin,) and was then when he wrote, "June, 1613," waiting for a "wind," to go on his "fishing voyage." There is nothing known to me anywhere, in conflict with any statement of this letter, but it is entirely in accord with every date and statement come down to us from that period.

We have, then, *the date of Pocahontas' capture fixed a little before, and her delivery at Jamestown a little after, the thirteenth April, 1613.* Of course, her marriage to Rolfe could not have occurred *the "first," the "fifth," "the beginning," or "early" in April, 1613.*

All agree that she was "*Long*" a prisoner before her marriage.

Let us, then, follow the accounts of her, and learn *how long.* The original authorities, (and there could be none higher,) are Governor Dale and Ralph Hamor, Secretary of the Colony, and the Rev'd Mr. Whitaker. Captain Smith but compiles from them. Dale succeeded Gates as Governor, in *February or March, 1614*, when the latter returned to England, (4 Purchas, p. 1773; Smith, p. 132,) and in a letter, under date of "*18th June, 1614,*" sent to England by Captain Argall, (in 4 Purchas, pp. 1768-9,) says, "Sir Thomas Gates having embarked himself for England. \* \* \* I put myself into Captain Argall's ship, \* \* and went into Pamunkee river, where Powhatan hath his residence \* \* with me, I carried his daughter, who had been long prisoner with us." After sundry delays, "came one from Powhatan,



who told us \* \* \* that his daughter should be my child and can dwell with me," &c. He then proceeds :

"Powhatan's daughter, I (had) caused to be carefully instructed in the Christian Religion, who, after she had made some good progress therein, was, as she desired, baptized, and is since" (*i. e.* since her baptism) "married to an English Gentleman," &c.

*The marriage, therefore, was, by this authority, between March and June, 1614.*

Accordant is Master Whitaker's letter, (the Minister at Jamestown,) dated also "*Virginia, 18th July, 1614,*" ("True Discourse," p. 59; 4 Purchas, p. 1768.) "Sir, The Colonie is much better. Sir Thomas Dale, our \* \* Governour, \* \* hath brought them" (our enemies) "to seeke for Peace of us, which is made. \* \* But that which is best, one Pocahontas or Matoa, the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discrete English gentleman, Master Rolfe, and that after she had openly renounced her country, idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized, which thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured a long time to ground in her."

Next and fullest is the authority of "Ralph Hamor, the younger, late Secretarie in that Colonie," under Dale, (True Discourse, p. 3.) Hamor sailed for Virginia, with Sir Thomas Gates, in June 1609, (4 Purchas, p. 1734;) suffered shipwreck with him on the Bermudas, and arrived out May 1610, (4 Purchas, p. 1743;) accompanied Governor Dale in his expedition to Pamunkee, March 1614; was afterwards "employed to Powhatan," May 1614, (Dale's letter in 4 Purchas, p. 1769,) and returned to England with Argall, June 1614. His "True Discourse" was written directly after his return to England. (See his address "To the Reader," where he speaks of the Colony as under the command of Governor



Gates and Governor Dale "three years and more." Gates took charge of the Colony in August, 1611.) His account of the capture of Pocahontas is almost absolutely the same with Argall's own, except a little fuller, perhaps, and except a trivial variation as to the lapse of time, after her capture, before Powhatan sent in the seven Englishmen, (and which, his writing, as he says he does, ("To the Reader,") "*without notes, but in memorie,*" sufficiently accounts for; but which variation only goes more certainly to fix the marriage after April 1613.) After stating that a message had been sent to Powhatan to acquaint him with the capture of Pocahontas, he proceeds thus: "He (Powhatan) could not, without long deliberation with his council, \* \* resolve upon anything, and \* \* we heard nothing of him till three months after \* \* he sent us seven of our men \* \* and word that whensoever we pleased to deliver his daughter, he would give us satisfaction \* \* 500 bush. of corn and be forever friends with us. \* \* We returned him answer \* \* that his daughter was very well and kindly intreated, and so should be however he delt with us, but we could not believe the rest of our arms were stolen or lost, and till he returned them all, we would not by any means deliver his daughter. \* \* This answer, as it seemed, pleased him not very well, for we heard no more from him till in March last, when with Capt. Argall's ship, \* \* Sir Thomas Dale \* \* went up into his own river \* \* and carried with us his daughter," &c.

Now observe, this is written in 1614, just after Hamor's return to England in June of that year. When was that "*March last*" but—(according entirely with the date of Governor Dale's expedition, as fixed above by the Governor's own letter) *March 1614*?

His account proceeds more circumstantially, and more clearly, than Governor Dale's, but in entire accord with it,



and is that of an eye-witness, or as he calls himself, "*Ocular testis*," and as it is at once original and entertaining, as well as curious and rare, I give it in full.

He introduces his "True Discourse" (p. 3,) on the "firme Peace that hath been so happily concluded" by "inserting" as "in no whit impertinent" thereto "the indeavors of Captain Argall," viz: his visit to Iapazeus at Pataomecke, and capture there of Pokahuntus—following it with an account of Governor Dale's expedition to, arrival, and proceedings at Pamaunkee, and continues as follows:

"Higher up the river we went, and anchored neere unto the chieftest residence Powhatan had, at a town called Matchcot, where were assembled (which we saw) about 400 men, well appointed with their bowes and arrowes to welcome us; here they dared us to come ashoare, a thing which we purposed before, so ashoare we went, our best landing being up a high steepe hill, which might have given the enemy much advantage against us, but it seemed, they as we, were unwilling to begin, and yet would gladly have bin at blowes, being landed, as if they had no show of feare, they stirred not from us, but walked up and downe, by and amongst us, the best of them inquiring for our Weroance or King, with whome they would gladly consult to know the occasion of our coming thither, whereof, when they were informed, they made answer that they were there ready to defend themselves, if we pleased to assault them, desiring neverthelesse some small time to dispatch two or three men once more to their King, to know his resolution, which, if not answerable to our request in the morning, if nothing else but blood would then satisfy us, they would fight with us and thereby determine our quarrell, which was but a further delay to procure time to carrie away their provisions; nevertheless, we agreed to this their request, assuring them till the next day by noon, we would not molest, hurt, nor detain any one of them, and then, before we fought, our Drums and Trumpets should give them warnings. Upon which promise of ours, two of Powhatan's sonnes, being very desirous to see their sister, who was there present ashore with us, came unto us. At the sight of whom, and her wellfare, whom they suspected to be worse intreated, though they had often heard the contrary, they much rejoiced, and promised that they would undoubtedly persuaide their father to redeem her, and to conclude a firme peace forever with us; and upon this resolu-



tion, the two brothers with us retired aboarde, we having first dispatched two Englishmen, Maister John Rolfe and Maister Sparkes, to acquaint her Father with the business in hand. The next day, being kindly intreated, they returned—not at all admitted Powhatan's presence, but spake with his brother Apachamo, his successor, one who hath already the command of all the people, who likewise promised us his best endeavors to farther our just request; and we, because the time of the yeere being then Aprill, called us to our business at home to prepare the ground, and set corne for our winter's provision, upon these terms departed, giving them respite till harvest to resolve what was left for them to doe, with this promise, that if finall agreement were not made betwixt us before that time, we would thither return againe, and destroy and take away all their corne, burne all the houses upon the river, leave not a fishing weire standing, nor a canoa in any creeke thereabout, and destroy and kill as many of them as we could. Long before this time a gentleman, of approved behaviour and honest carriage, Maister John Rolfe, had bin in love with Pocahuntas, and she with him, which thing at the instant that we were in parlee with them, myself made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, whereby he intreated his advise and furtherance in his love, if so it seemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and Pocahuntas herself acquainted her brethren therewith, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale wel approving, was the only cause he was so milde amongst them, who otherwise would not have departed their river without other conditions.

“The bruit of this pretended marriage came soon to Powhatan's knowledge, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent thereunto, who, some ten days after, sent an olde oncle of hers, named Opachisco, to give her as his deputy in the church, and two of his sonnes to see the marriage solemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of April, and ever since we have had friendly commerce and trade, not only with Powhatan himself, but also with his subjects round-about us: so, as now, I see no reason why the Collonie should not thrive apace.”

These are the only original sources of correct information in regard to the capture, detention, baptism and marriage of Pocahuntas, known to me, and, I think, conclusively show that she was kidnapped at Patowomeck in April 1613, was detained “long” in captivity, was taken to Pamaunkee in March 1614, brought back to Jamestown about 1st April,



was then baptized, and was married to Rolfe "about the *fifth of April*," *one thousand six hundred and fourteen*.

It is, perhaps, of little importance to show how the common mistake originated, but by the light afforded by these *excerpts*, from the original authorities, it is not, I think, difficult. The source of the mistake is probably found in Smith's General History, (the edition of 1626 is the one before me,) p. 113. Smith is reciting from, and *abridging*, Hamor's "True Discourse." The year of Sir Samuel Argall's arrival out in Virginia, is correctly given, in his margin, 1612; but he goes on, *under the same marginal year*, to give an account of Argall's expedition to Patowomeek, and kidnapping of Pocahontas, which, as we have seen above, took place, not in 1612, but in the spring of the *following year*, 1613. There then follows, in Smith, (still re-writing and abridging Hamor's "Discourse,") an account of both Argall's and Dale's expeditions, but without the dates, "April 13," of the former, and "March last," of the latter, which fix the years, and opposite the account of the marriage in Smith, is this marginal note:

"The marriage  
of Pocahontas  
to Maister  
John Rolfe.  
1613

Sir Thomas Smith,  
Treasurer."

Now the marginal dates in this compilation from Hamor, have reference to the Treasurership of Sir Thomas Smith, and they are not found in Hamor's work. But the text of the original authorities conclusively shows that the date just cited—1613—belonged to the commencement of the account of Argall's expedition as given on the previous page of Smith, and was, doubtless, by some accident



or inadvertence, printed where we now find it. Seeing the date, 1613, *after the marginal notice of Pocahontas' marriage, and opposite the paragraph in which is the account of it*, with nothing to excite distrust, and, quite possibly, with no means of collating, the original accounts, and thus correcting the error, our earlier historians naturally adopted the date thus seemingly given by Smith as that of the marriage, and have been followed by later ones, without examination.

The omission by Smith (Gen. Hist. p. 115) of the introductory sentence to Hamor's account of the latter's mission in "May" to Powhatan, has served to seemingly separate, and widely disconnect, the date of the latter event from that of the marriage; and, accordingly, all the histories, while they assign (erroneously as before shown) Pocahontas' marriage to 1613, assign, rightly, Hamor's mission to 1614. That sentence is as follows: "I purposely omitted one thing in the Treatise of our Concluded Peace, wherewith I intend to conclude my discourse, \* \* \* and this it is." Hamor then proceeds with the account of his visit, as compiled from him in Smith and all the other Histories, and plainly, and inevitably, connects it with the "Peace" of which he has been treating, (p. 11 *et seq.*), which Peace (the immediate fruit of Pocahontas' marriage) was concluded as above shown recently before the dispatches of Gov. Dale and Mr. Whitaker, *June 18th* 1614. In a word, Hamor's Mission was in the May following the April of Pocahontas' marriage, and immediately before the June of Hamor's return to England, 1614. (See True Discourse, p. 37.)

Strachey's reference to Pocahontas' marriage demands a special notice. Superficially examined, it might seem to warrant the idle and hasty theory of a prior marriage to that with Rolfe, which has been built upon it, but read aright, as I conceive, it is essentially consistent with the accredited accounts of that event.



In Strachey, continuing his somewhat high-flowing account of the "Great Emperor," Powhatan, occurs this paragraph :

"He was reported by the said Kempes, as also by the Indian Machumps, who was sometyne in England, and comes to and fro among us as he dares, and as Powhatan gives him leave. \* \* \* I say that they often reported to us that Powhatan had then lyving twenty sonnes and ten daughters, beside a young one by Wiganuske, Machumps, his sister, and a great darling of the king's; and besides yonge Pocahunta, a daughter of his, using sometyne to our fort, in tymes past, nowe married to a private captaine, called Kocoum, some two years since."—(*Strachey's Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Hakluyt Edition of 1847, p. 54.*)

If the marriage of Pocahontas here spoken of were so referred to as to make it necessarily a different one from that to Rolfe, and totally irreconcilable with the idea of its being the same, it would be simply incredible, at least without a weight of testimony of the most conclusive character. A new and interesting fact, in regard to a period written of by many contemporaneous pens, of a nature to be known to all, and not likely to be suppressed or omitted by any, cannot be accepted as true unless so supported. But in the case of such a fact, affecting the central and capital figure of her day and country, and one so directly connected with an important historical event, (that of restoring peace, and assuring safety to the English colony,) recorded by several contemporaneous writers—impossible to be unknown to them—and being known, inconceivable to have escaped some notice or comment, the total silence of all contemporary and posterior history in respect to it must be decisive against it, without such irresistible testimony.

Governor Dale, who seems to have taken the greatest interest in Pocahontas, and in whose family it is not improbable she passed her captivity—Parson Whitaker—Ralph Hamor—Sir Samuel Argall—and Rolfe himself—who all wrote of her at the same period as Strachey and much more fully



and specially, both then and afterwards; who were all at Jamestown with Strachey during his whole stay there, and who all manifest the greatest respect and regard for her—that the circumstance of a prior marriage of so important a personage (of the time and place) should have been known to Strachey, and not to them, or, if known, should have challenged no notice or remark from them, is simply incredible.

The report of one or both of the Indians, if their testimony could be made applicable to this fact, (which I shall show it it cannot be,) would not weigh a feather against the total silence of all these gentlemen under the circumstances stated; while it may not be amiss in this connection to note—to have such weight as it should in estimating the value of this whole Indian report of Strachey's—that Kemps, one of the reporters, is described by Smith (*Gen. Hist.*, p. 84), as one of "the two most exact villanies in all the country." Throwing their testimony out, the statement considered as of a prior marriage would remain wholly unsupported, and I submit, that such a statement, of no writer however respectable, could be received as any proof whatsoever of such a fact, but be set down, rather, to the adoption by him of some idle rumor, or to some now inexplicable misapprehension or mistake.

I think his book affords much reason to suppose that he gave a too ready ear to reports, and such especially as were of an unfavorable cast in regard to his aboriginal neighbors. For while there is nothing intemperate, or even harsh, in his account of them, they are certainly seen in a somewhat less favorable light in it than in any contemporary work. Nor is it surprising. Strachey arrived in Virginia in 1610, at the moment when by the joint influences of disease, famine and Indian massacres following on Smith's departure in 1609, the Colony had in a few months dwindled from six hundred, to sixty persons, and was on the eve of extinction. Hostile relations with the Indians continued through the whole of his



two years' stay. He could have had, therefore, but limited opportunity of personal observation, and none to see the harsher features of their war-character softened by those milder lights of peace in which they were seen by both Smith and Hamor. It is observable, too, that almost the whole of his book relating to the country and its people, that is original, consists of these verbal reports he picked up at Jamestown from his Indian informers, of whom one, "who came to dwell there," (Kemps,) it being a time of war between the Indians and the colonists, may be reasonably held to have been a deserter from his tribe. The rest is but a wholesale recasting (and, I believe, without acknowledgment) in new and more ambitious forms, and, as he doubtless conceived, in more classic moulds, of Smith's earlier History—but with much loss by this transference, as I think, of the terseness, raciness, and picturesqueness of the original, without any compensating gain. Where he has departed from Smith he seems usually unsupported (as in his new names for Powhatan and Pocahontas)—and at times misled, (as in regard, for instance, to Powhatan's age.)

Now, it may be, that the case before us is another instance of his having been misled by erroneous information. But there is no occasion, I conceive, for such an assumption. Strachey's account is susceptible, I think, without forcing, of being brought into harmonious reconciliation with the other uncontroverted accounts of the same occurrence. The meaning of the clause giving rise to the doubt, manifestly turns on the chronological value of the words "now two years since."

In determining this, it may be noted, that Strachey went to Virginia with the purpose of writing a history of the Colony, and of what transpired there, and did write *there* his "Observations," which he purposed, however, "to detain in the shadow of darkness," till he could "deliver this perfect," &c.



He makes this statement, in England, in 1612, (Intro. p. xxi.) His book, therefore, is this *perfecting* of those "Observations," and to some extent, doubtless, a transcript of them. Such, evidently, is the beginning of the paragraph (p. 53) preceding the one above quoted, where he says, "Of his women there are said to be about some dozen, *at this presente*," &c.—proceeding to give their names, as received from Kemps, in their then order of precedence—but as this precedence was capricious and constantly changing, (p. 54,) so "*this presente*" could only have been written originally when the information was received, viz: *in Virginia*. And as Strachey arrived in Virginia, May 1610, and must have left early in 1612, at latest (for he published two books in England that year, and made some progress in a third,) we may assume the information in question, which is amongst the earliest of his "Observations," to have been received by him in 1611, if not 1610, and then noted in his "remembrancer."

So the first part of the paragraph above quoted at large is, obviously, in the *then present* tense, *when he was in Virginia*, and recorded those reports, and not *the time present*, *when he re-wrote them in England*. The phraseology there used,—"*comes to and fro among us as he dares*, and as Powhatan *gives him leave*," is impossible to have been employed originally, after Strachey returned to England, and is evidently transcribed from his "Observations" as written in Virginia. Was *the close of that paragraph*, also, *then* written? and, if not, when was it written?—for on this depend the value and meaning of the statement of Pocahontas being "some two years since married."

He began to write the book, as now published, in the year 1612, as stated by his Editor in note; (p. 24,) (confirmed by the dates pp. 24, 130, which I have verified): and the statement made, p. 29, that "(well near) six years," (as originally written,) had then elapsed since the settlement of James-



town, (April 1607,) shows it must have been late in that year.

His "Second Book," was begun to be written in 1613, for then, (p 149,) "six years" *had* elapsed from the settlement of Jamestown.

The alteration of "six" (years) to "11," (from the settlement of Jamestown,) on page 29, was necessarily made in 1618.

His Dedication to Sir Francis Bacon as "Lord High Chancellor," to which office Bacon was not appointed till 4th January 1618, was necessarily also written after that date.

It thus appears that portions of the book, as now published, were written when the author was in Virginia, and that it did not pass finally out of his hands before 1618.

Strachey *might*, then, have written the clause in question any time between 1610 and 1618. Was it written in his original notes made in Virginia, 1610-11?

Now, referring Strachey's "Nowe married \* \* some two years since," to two years immediately before Kemps' report to him (1610 or 1611) we are brought at latest to 1609, perhaps 1608. How old was Pocahontas in 1609? Smith in his "True Relation," London, 1608, says she was, when he was a prisoner of Powhatan, (Fall of 1607,) "a child of tenne years old;" though, afterwards, in his "Gen. Historie," London, 1626, he speaks of her as being, at the same period, "a girl of twelve or thirteen." Taking the former account, she would have been in the summer of 1609 under twelve years old, and under fourteen, taking his later account. Accordant with Smith's first account, is Strachey's. He speaks of "Pochahuntas, a well-featured, but wanton\* young girle,

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"It is presumable that Strachey used this term in one of those more innocent significations, of "wandering" or "sportive," usual about the time he wrote with the more refined and educated minds.



Powhatan's daughter, sometymes" (i. e., heretofore, as formerly used,) "resorting to our Fort, of the age *then* of eleven or twelve years." Now, Pocahontas is said never to have

(Unless, indeed, the father's pet-name for his little darling, "Pocahontas," which may signify "little wanton," (Strachey, p. 14.) may have suggested the word.) Thus, Milton's "wanton ringlets" of our first mother, Eve—and Shakspeare's "little wanton boys swimming on bladders,"—and Bacon's "houseful of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons,"—where impure associations would almost desecrate the text. And this supposition is confirmed to almost certainty by the context of the passage where it is found, which connects her with childish sports. Yet, on the mere strength of the employment of this phrase, and of the statement following it, that Pocahontas, at the age of 11 or 12, went naked, according to the customs of her tribe, and engaged in the natural pastimes of children, (itself, by the way, a hearsay statement, for Strachey never saw her,) there have not been wanting natures gross enough to blow their deflowering breath over a character that, from childhood to the grave, has been perfumed by the admiring praise of all that knew her. Smith, himself, the theme of a hundred applauding pens, reported her, while yet a child, the "Nonpareil" of her country, by which title, Worthy Master Hamor saith, too, introducing her as the "delight and darling" of Powhatan, "her fame hath even been spread in England"—Gov. Dale, the most knightly of Virginia's early Governors, found in her a beautiful nature not unworthy his efforts still further to adorn—she was welcomed by one of the purest of its ministers (Rev. Alex. Whitaker) into the bosom of the Christian Church, and seems to have extorted, by the mere force of her rare excellence and happy dispositions, against the urgency of many strong dissuading considerations, the true and tender homage of an honest and discreet English gentleman, on whose character not a stain, or an aspersion, is known ever to have been cast—while, by the testimony of Purchas—himself an applauding eye-witness—she carried herself, when in England, so becomingly in the new and difficult paths she was treading there, (and which soon terminated at her early tomb,) as to approve herself altogether worthy of the many distinguished attentions of which she was the object, and of that universal respect which waited on her while living, and was paid to the "godly memory" which, dying, she left behind her.



been seen at Jamestown ("our fort") after Smith left there, which was Michaelmas, (i. e., September,) 1609, till her capture in 1613, (*of course Strachey never saw her,*) and the war of massacres that instantly ensued upon Smith's departure, and continued up to the very peace, (of which her marriage in 1614 was the harbinger and guarantee,) renders that statement next to certain. If, then, when she resorted to the Fort, which must have been in 1608-9, she was eleven or twelve years old, there is entire accord between Strachey and Smith's first account, that she was ten in 1607—and the story of her marriage in either of those years, (which were the two years preceding the Indian's report to Strachey,) is simply preposterous.

Again, when "reported" by Kemps, she is spoken of as "*The yonge Pocahonta.*" This term was very applicable, if applied to her in 1610 or 1611, as a girl of some twelve or fourteen years of age, but would have been inapplicable, and strangely misapplied to a woman already two years married! I think it is clear, therefore, that Strachey's "younge Pocahonta" of 1610 or 1611, of whom his Indian informers made report, was not then a wife of two years standing, or a wife at all—and the clause in question was not written in his original "Observations" made in Virginia.

As, therefore, this clause must have been written at a date posterior to the first part of the paragraph, and might have been written at a time that would authorize the supposition of an intended reference to the historical marriage of 1614, and thus reconcile it to all other accounts, it would itself justify the hypothesis of its having been written at that time. But if it appear, that, in point of fact, Strachey had the work under his eye, (quite possibly may have re-written the whole of it, preparatory to publication,) at the time when the addition of this clause would show an intended reference to the marriage to Rolfe, the hypothesis of its having been then



introduced into his narrative would be strengthened almost to certainty. Now, the Ashmolean MS. passed from his hands, probably in 1616; for he could not have written later than that, and, very probably, then wrote the Dedication of it to Sir Allen Apsley, "Purveyor to his Majestie's Navie Royall," whose title, as such, ceased in 1616, being merged in the higher one of "Lieutenant of the Tower," an office to which he was in that year appointed, (Strachey, *History of Travaile*, Introduction, p. xxii.) and the likelihood is, that reviewing it before it passed from his hands, the news of Pocahontas' marriage, some two years previous, (April, 1614,) had reached him by some imperfect oral report that may account for the mistake of the name\* of the person to whom she was married, or Kocoum: may have been Rolfe's Indian name.

It aids this hypothesis to observe: 1, That you may seek, I believe, in vain, through all the writings of the time for the term "Captaine" applied to an Indian—2, that "Weroance" is said by Strachey, (p. 51,) and by some other, (I think Smith, but cannot now turn to the passage,) yet more emphatically to be the only Indian title "for all Commanders;" and lastly, that the marriage of the great Emperor, Powhatan's "dearest daughter" to a "private Captaine" or Weroance, would be extremely improbable, if not, indeed, incredible. My conclusion, therefore, is, that the above paragraph after the word "past" was written early in 1616, and was intended

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\* Mistakes and liberties with the names are, of all errors, perhaps, the most common. Thus Hamor speaks of "Apachame," (p. 10,) which is evidently the "Opoehankenough" of all other writers. Purchas, p. 1720, writing from Smith's "Written Notes," has "Kemps and Kinsock," while Smith has it "Kemps and *Tassare*;" (True Travels, 1619, p. 224:) or Strachey may have had the same authority for calling "Rolfe" "Kocoum," as for calling "Pocahontas" "Amonate," (Strachey, p. 111,) or Powhatan, "Ottaniack," and "Maman-towick," viz: some Indian reporter.



to refer to Pocahontas' marriage to Rolfe two years before, viz: April 5th, 1614.\*

As "in no whit impertinent," as Master Hamor might say, to the foregoing discourse, I take leave to insert a few observations on the doubt that some have been forward, recently, to cast on the truth of Captain Smith's story of his rescue by Pocahontas. The justification of this doubt is rested on Smith's omission to notice it in the account of his capture and detention among the Indians first transmitted to England in 1608. Now, what strikes one at the outset is, that this hypothesis only removes one difficulty to create a greater; for it would seem easier to account for the omission, in the first case, than for the imputed falsehood in the last. For, abstracting the question from all surrounding considerations, and viewing it by the light of probabilities alone, I submit that it is more probable, and more just, to suppose that there existed a sufficient motive for omitting to state the occurrence in the first and briefer account, than to assume the unproven existence of a dishonoring motive to account for the falsehood gratuitously imputed to the statement subsequently given.

Still it may be conceded, that the omission referred to is calculated to attract notice, and, perhaps, create a certain distrust, were there not, in truth, many and notable considerations strongly militating against the admission of so harsh an imputation, as the rejection of Smith's often reiterated statement of the fact, would necessarily enforce.

1st. It would be hard to parallel, by a single other case, the extent, variety or emphasis, of the laudatory notices by friends, in every station of life, (and, in numerous instances, by the companions and eye-witnesses of his exploits,) of Cap-

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\* This is very ingeniously presented by a writer in the "Virginia Historical Register," under the signature of "Philo."



tain Smith and of his history—anno, 1624—after the substance of it had been long before the public, and all of it, as well as his own character, long seen in the censure of all the cotemporary accounts, then, or now, known; and in the face of that cotemporary envy and enmity,\* which, as the common lot of the great, he did not wholly escape; and at a time, too, when many yet lived to rectify, or expose, any misstatement or perversion of so much of what he wrote as was known to others as well as himself, and which there were some abundantly willing to do, if it could have been done successfully, but which none ever attempted. And in all these testimonials, Smith's high "honour," "truth" and "piety," form the burden of the verse, and are extolled by his host of friends and comrades, as, perhaps, were never man's virtues praised before.

2dly. While there is no reason to claim, or to suppose, that his history is free from some garniture of that extravagance and liberal embellishment which seems to have been the habit and taste of his time, as regards books of travel, and to have been received without prejudice to their character for authenticity—(of which Strachey's "Dreadful Tempest, the manifold deaths whereof are to the life described,") and copious

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\* Edward Maria Wingfield, first President of the Colony, is an instance. The value of his traduction of Smith may be judged from the fact, that the injustice of it seems to have been one of the chief causes of his (Wingfield's) degradation from the Presidency—that a fine of £200 (which Smith put into the public Treasury) was imposed on him for the slander by a jury of the Colonists; that his book of vindication of himself, and of impeachment of Smith, and addressed by way of appeal to the Company in England, seems to have been wholly unheeded by them—and is dismissed by the respectable Purchas with no further notice than this significant marginal note: "I have also Mr. Wingfield's notes of these affairs, but would not trouble the reader here with things more than troublesome." 4 Purchas, p. 1706.



discourse on his "wreck" on the Bermudas, given (says old Purchas, p. 1733,) in "Rhetoricke's Full Sea and Spring Tide," may serve as a specimen)—I, yet, do not remember an instance of any confutation, or contradiction, of any important fact stated by him, while instances of confirmation are innumerable. Thus, his account of his reception by Powhatan in 1607 (Genl. History, p. 48) finds its general corroboration in Hamor's account of *his* in 1614, (Hamor, p. 39,)—and one of the very strangest of his stories, that of his seizing the Indian Chief by the beard, in the presence of hundreds of his warriors, with but a handful of his own men about him, is distinctly confirmed by several who witnessed it; whilst his description of Virginia, not only in its larger features, but in its details, is an instance of accuracy, and conscientious caution, among the most extraordinary of which we have any example.

3dly. If we are to apply the rule of rejecting all that Smith wrote after his publication of 1608, concerning the country and people of Virginia, and the incidents and chances that befel him there prior to that date, which is not to be found in that publication, we must reject the greater part of the earliest history we have of the Colony, and the whole story, almost, of the detail of his capture and seven weeks detention by the Indians—a story full of strangeness, indeed, and wonder, but neither incredible nor unnatural, and which, in many of its parts, stands confirmed in the light of after events.

4thly. Again, the several accounts of the saving of Smith's life are none of them incompatible with that of its having been also saved by Pocahontas, or with one another. They refer to different instances where his life was imperilled. Thus he once saved his life by using his guide as a shield—another time it was saved by an Indian he had been kind to—it was again saved by Opechancano from his sense of Smith's seeming supernatural knowledge. I know no references to his



life being saved from imminent peril, in 1607, but these, and none of them are inconsistent with the account of his subsequent rescue by Pocahontas.

5thly. Pocahontas' constant visiting of the Colony, till Smith left it—her frequent and friendly interventions on behalf of the colonists, more or less fully confirmed by other pens than Smith's in particular instances, and I believe nowhere contradicted, but entirely consistent with all other accounts and notices of her, (as her saving the life of the boy Spelman (Gen. Hist.) and that of Richard Wyffin, (p. 89,) which seems to be the direct statement of Wyffin himself,) would all seem to show that she indulged sentiments of particular interest towards Smith, and are in entire keeping with her alleged intercession for him.

6thly. Her, as yet a young girl, being sent by her father to intercede with Smith for the liberation of Indian captives, directly after his (Smith's) liberation,—would it not seem to imply some peculiar and strong ground of claim on her part to his grateful recognition?—and does not Smith's reference of his clemency to these captives, expressly and exclusively to *her solicitation*, confirm the probability that such ground really existed, and the discharge of these captives appear but as the natural requital of it? What more probable ground could there be, than the one afterwards disclosed of her having saved his life? and where is the wonder of, and wherefore then discredit, her having interceded to save Smith's life, who often, it appears, saved the lives of others?

Why did he not earlier disclose it? I admit it is a question easier asked than answered, but the inability to furnish an explanation is very far from warranting a deduction that there is none. May it help to furnish a solution to consider, that, in 1607, Smith was under suspicions of those then in power, (wrongful and groundless as after shown, indeed, but not the less real,) of intending to “usurp the Government,



murder the Council, and make himself King" (Dr. Studly in 4 Purchas, p. 1706); that he had just previously been long "restrained" a prisoner, and degraded from the Council?—that, ridiculous as the idea would now seem to us, it would not have been ridiculous at that day, and might even have been fatal to Smith, as confirmatory of those suspicions, for the impression to have had a plausible support of a possible alliance between him and the Indian Emperor's daughter, which very project, indeed, for all his caution, was actually among the charges specially laid against him by his enemies, the year after, when he returned to England, (R. Potts in 4 Purchas, 1731)—and the known silly flatter, occasioned, long afterwards, in the Court circle of England, by Rolfe's marriage to Pocahontas, will show that we should not be too hasty in refusing all weight to this conjecture. Seeming proof, too, for some extraordinary caution on the part of Smith, is furnished by his publishing his "Newes from Virginia" under a feigned name, and by its manifest abstinence from topics affecting the Government, and Governors, of the Colony: whilst it should not be unnoticed that the "Newes from Virginia," as published, did not embrace all that Smith wrote; (see the first Editor's note;) and we do not, therefore, know what was omitted, or wherefore omitted. But if no reference to the fact of his life having been saved by Pocahontas were embraced in what he then wrote, and if the consideration suggested influenced the omission, the same consideration would account for his continued silence on the subject while he was still seeking employment in Virginia at the hands of the company in London, (as we have good reason to suppose he was) up to the time of Pocahontas' marriage; and it was but shortly after that event, that the statement of his having been rescued from death, through the intervention of Pocahontas, was first made public in his letter to the Queen.

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